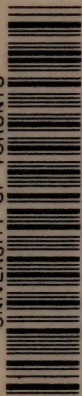


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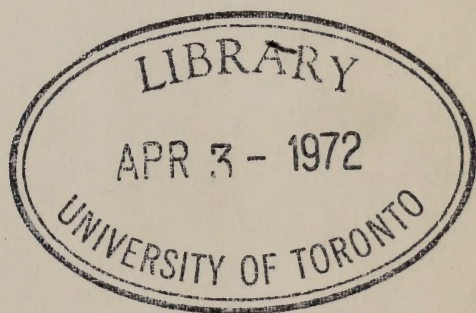
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THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT IN ENGLAND AND IN FRANCE, BY FRANCIS HENRY CRIPPS-DAY. PUBLISHED BY BERNARD QUARITCH LIMITED, 1918.

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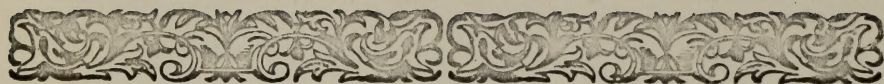
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The History of the Tournament.

I.

THE TOURNAMENT AND CHIVALRY.



HE object of these notes is to give the history of a sport which played a great part in the lives of the ruling class in England, France and Germany from the XII. to the XVI. centuries, even perhaps in the formation of the national characters, and at the same time to trace the change in

The Tournament, the great sport of the Middle Ages.

the spirit of the *tournament* from the realistic and barbaric encounter of the age of Chivalry to the mere pleasure-giving and pageant-like display of the time of the Renaissance.

The tournament was a sport, entailing physical endurance and calling for great personal courage. Thus the stories of knights of old, risking their lives in a pastime which required extraordinary address, never fail to stir our imagination. It was a sport, moreover, in which it was intended that no animal should suffer either death or pain; even the accidental wounding of the horse was visited with a penalty, "who so striketh a horse shall have no prize" (1).

(1) *The Ordinances, Statutes and Rules, made by John, Lord Tiptotfe, Erie of Worcester, Constable of England, by the King's commaundement, at Windore, 29 day of May, anno sexto Edwardi Quarti.* Printed in *Appendix IV*, post, p. xxvii.

Cf. also Challenge of six noble persons to hold a Justs-Royall and Tourney at Westminster,

2 THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT.

In the Middle Ages the *desport* of the tournament, to use the old word, was the school of courage of the true knight (1). Of him it must be said : "Well could he tourney, and in lists de-

for pleasure of the Kinge, the Queene, and the Princesse the King's eldest daughter, etc., on the 22nd November [c. 1502] signed by William Croythron, *Harl. MS.* 69(8), printed in *Appendix VI* : "It is not to be thought that any man will strike a horse willingly, for if he do it shall be to his dishonor."

In the *Ordonnance et Ordre du Tournoy, joustes et combat, à pied et à cheval* of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, a knight, striking or killing his adversary's horse, could not run again except by leave of the ladies (*Cal. L. & P. Hen. VIII.*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, No. 870). There was, however, a touch of mediæval cruelty in the custom which prevailed at a combat, when the tail of the horse of the defeated knight was cut off, the body of the knight being handed over to the executioner.

(1) The education of a young noble began at seven years of age, when he passed from the control of women to that of men. Created an esquire by religious ceremony, when he reached the age of 14, he then generally entered the service of a noble (not as a rule his father). He followed his knight with the army, sometimes as a *poursuivant* ; he travelled to attend tournaments and combats, helping to arm and disarm his knight (*vide* the miniature c. 1360 in *Add. MSS.* 12228, f. 125, reproduced in CORNISH, *Chivalry*, p. 65) and was on duty at the tree of honor where his knight's shield was hung (*vide* the miniature in *Add. MSS.*, 12228, f. 70, *Ibid.*, p. 75). MENESTRIER has suggested that the original idea of supporters to armorial bearings came from this service of esquires : "Les supports d'hommes et de femmes sauvages, de Lions, de Griffons, d'Ange, et de Dieux de la fable, sont venus des Tournois, où l'on déguisoit des hommes de toutes ces manières pour leur faire porter les Ecussons des Chevaliers, et pour leur faire garder les pas et les Ecus pendans." (MENESTRIER, *L'Art du Blason et l'Origine des Armoiries* (Ed. 1672), p. 175). He helped to dress his knight's wounds, as did also the *damoiselles*, as we learn from ST. PALAYE : "L'horreur de voir répandre le sang céda enfin, dans le coeur de ce sexe né sensible, à l'inclination encore plus naturelle et plus puissante qui les porte vers tout ce qui appartient au sentiment de la gloire : les dames accoururent en foule aux Tournois" (*Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie* (Ed. 1759), I., pp. 13, 30-33, 44, 57, where the authorities drawn from Chronicles, MSS. and Romances are cited). At the age of twenty-one the esquire was made a knight, when he could, for the first time, wear a hauberk. In Normandy some feudal estates, held by knight's service, were termed *fiefs de Haubert* (MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie Ancienne et Moderne*, Ed. 1683, p. 101 ; LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, etc., XII., 75). As to this obligation on the vassal lord to make his eldest son a knight and pay the fine, see the extract from *Dissertation sur les aides-chevals de Normandie*, by DE JORT, Rouen, 1706, 12°, printed in LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, etc., XII, p. 398, where the old Anglo-Saxon law is cited : *Ad quem hæreditas terræ pervenerit, ad illum vestis bellica, id est lorica*, etc. (*Ibid.*, p. 410). SCOTT, *Essay on Chivalry*, should be read, it breathes the atmosphere of chivalry ; it is brief and complete.

THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT. 3

bate"(1). Proud was the chevalier of France, who said of his forbears: "Not one of us has had for a father a knight who died in house or home, all have died in battle by cold steel." (2).

His games were meant to be the image of war, just as war was the image of his games (3), "a youth must have seen his blood flow and felt his teeth crack under the blow of his adversary and have been thrown to the ground twenty times . . . thus will he be able to face real war with the hope of victory"(4). The tournament trained the knight for war, his war-dream was the Cru-

The Tournament, preparation for war.

- (1) SPENSER, *Fairy Queene*, Bk. II., Canto I., 6. CHAUCER pictures the "squier".
"Wel cowde he sitte on hors and faire ryde.

Juste and eek daunce, and wel purtreye and write.

Curteys he was, lowely and servysable,
And carf byforn his fader at the table."

(*The Canterbury Tales*, Pro. II. 96, 98, 101-2).

In Germany, a noble was bound to tourney; hence the proverb:—"Ein Edelmann mag bor Mittag zu acker getzen; und nach Mittag in Churnier reitten."

- (2) *Girart de Roussillon* (*chanson de geste* of the middle of the XIII. century), translated into French by P. MEYER (1884) § 401, at p. 196.

(3) The old idea was still strong even in the year 1477. The "cry" of the justs at the marriage of the little Duke of York, aged five, to Anne Mowbray, aged three, ran thus: "And because the laudable and noble custome of this Martiall and triumphant Realme in tyme past hath bine at such high dayes of honor exercises and feates of the necessary discipline of Armes were shewed and done to experience and enable nobles to be deserving of Chivalrie by the which our Mother Holy Church is defended, Kinge and Princes served, Realmes and Countreyes kept and mainteyned in justice and peace. This considered must move and stirre all noble courages to imploye their persons in these causes." (*Harl. MS.* 69(1) *The Booke of certain Triumphes*, printed in *Appendix VI*).

(4) ROGER OF HOVEDEN (*Appendix I*, *post*, p. v). Compare also the account by MATTHEW PARIS of the Newbury Tournament of 1248:—"Die vero Cinerum, captum est torneamentum magnum apud Neubiriam inter milites Angliae, ut experirentur militiae peritiam cum strenuitate; cui cum dominus rex favorem praeberisset, optime et initiatum est et terminatum. Ibique profecto Willelmus frater domini regis uterinus, cognomento de Valentia, tiro novellus, ut titulos militiae sibi famosos acquireret, se animosa praesumptione ingressis, sed aetate tener et viribus imperfectus, impetus militum durorum et martiorum sustinere non praevalens, multa amisit prostatus et egregie, ut introductiones militiae initiales addisceret, baculatus (*Chr. Mag.*, *Rolls Ed.*, v. 17). Vide also the translation of an old MS. (*Harl.* 2253, *fo.* 108), printed in STRUTT, *Sports and Pastimes*, Ed. 1903, p. xviii).

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sade. It was still the tournament, which was held to do honour to the home-coming crusader (1). Tournaments and wars were the seed-time and harvest of that which formed the ideal of manhood during the Middle Ages.

To Kings war was in a sense a sport. In the spring of the year accompanied by minstrels, troubadours and hounds they sailed with their armies, and with autumn a truce was declared until the next spring; when a war could last 100 years, it could never be out of the mind of a fighting king or a warrior race.

Battles, like tournaments, were sometimes held at places and at times agreed upon between the heads of the opposing armies(2); the tactics of leaders were frequently taken from the tourney and the conduct of a knight in battle was more often than not like that of a knight of romance (3). A hardened old warrior on the side of the enemy (4) soon turned such tactics to good

(1) These tournaments, in honor of the "glorious champions of Christianity," are to be compared to the triumphs held in Rome on the return of victorious Roman generals (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, X, 134).

(2) MEYER, *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke*, etc., iii, p. xxxvii; OMAN, *Art of War*, p. 602: "King Philip, meanwhile, had grown so strong that he sent a message of defiance to the English, and bade them meet him in the open field if they dared, offering to fight on whichever bank of the Seine they might prefer." This was in 1346, a few days before the Battle of Crécy, Aug. 16th.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 379, 396, and especially at p. 472, where the author says: "The whole encounter (Battle of Bouvines, 1214), must have borne a great resemblance to a vast tourney." Writing of the Battle of Crécy (p. 592), he remarks:—"In France those absurd perversions of the art of war which covered themselves under the name of Chivalry were more omnipotent than in any other country of Europe. The strength of the armies of Philip and John of Valois was composed of a fiery and undisciplined *noblesse*, which imagined itself to be the most efficient military force in the world, but was in reality little removed from an armed mob. A system which reproduced on the battlefield the distinctions of feudal society was considered by the French aristocracy to represent the ideal form of warlike organisation."

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 451, at the Battle of Muret in 1213, King Peter of Arragon had sent a letter to his mistress, "that he had undertaken his great enterprise for her sweet sake." Simon de Montfort intercepted it; "We need not fear to get the better of this light king," said he, "who declared war on God's cause to please one sinful woman."

the influence of
the Tournament
on tactics
war.

THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT. 5

account. Where a leader had cunning and did not fear to retire, when caution demanded it, he was nearly always victorious.

If the mimic battle, the *Ludus Trojae* (1), the *Conflictus Gallicus* (2), the *Bataille Francaise*, or the *Torneamentum*, as it was variously termed, can be traced back to very remote times (3), feudalism adopted it as its favourite pastime. Perhaps the explanation of LÉON GAUTIER in his *Chevalerie* (4), is the most pro-

The origin
of the Tour-
nament.

(1) TACITUS, *Ann. Lib. XI, ii*; VIRGIL, *Lib. V*, 553—587; Suet., *Aug. 43*, Nero 7, Julius C. 39.

(2) *Henricus, rex Anglorum, junior mare transiens in CONFLICTIBUS GALLICIS, qui hastiludia vel torneamenta vocantur et profusioribus expensis triennium peregit . . . triumphum reportans* (MATTHEW PARIS, *Hist. Ang. s. anno. 1179*).

(3) Nithardus, grandson of Charlemagne, mentions these games as taking place before the Emperor Louis and his brother, Charles le Chauve, in 842 (Du CANGE, *Appendix I, post, p. ii*). ANDREW FAVINE in his *Theater of Honour and Knighthood* (Ed. 1623, fo., II, 460), gives the early history of the tournament from FR. MODIUS, *Pandectae Triumphales* (Frankfort, 1580, fo.), stating that it was introduced by Henry the Fowler (876—936) into his kingdoms from France and England: *Morem Germanis ad eum diem insolitum, sed nobilitati Galliae, Britanniaeque usitatum inducere, solemnibus legibus EQUESTRI DECURSIONE certandi*. He ordered a commission to inquire into these sports and draw up his *Leges Hastiludiales* (*Ibid.*, p. 461). They deal with the tourney and jousts. In these *Leges Hastiludiales* it is interesting to note the express mention of heraldic hereditary bearings in "Henrici Imp. Aug. Statuta et Privelegia ludorum equestrium sive Hastiludiorum, anno Christi, 938," *Article IX*; and note also in "Henrici I. Aucupis Imperatoris Augusti Leges Hastiludiales, sive de Torneamentis Latae Gottingae in Saxonia, anno Domini MCCCXXXVIII," *Article XII*, relating to the qualification by birth to take part in the tournament. These references from GOLDAST, *Collectio Constitutionum Imperialium*, Ed. 1713, I, 211 and II, 42, are quoted in ELLIS, *Antiquities of Heraldry*, 1869, pp. 149-50, who also quotes FABRICIUS, *Saxoniae Illustratae*, Ed. 1607, p. 122. FAVINE gives accounts of 36 tournaments, of which the early ones are all considered to be legendary; the date of the last one described is 1487, which led SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER to lament in 1544 in his *Cosmographia* that "by the extirpation of this Honourable Exercise among them (the nobility) they became even prostituted to all vile abuses" (*Ibid.*, p. 486). The work of MODIUS was largely taken from a curious book by JÉRÔME ROLIER, published early in the XVI. century, and dedicated to Charles V. LEBER (*Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, XIII, 7), refers to an edition of 1530, which he had seen. Most authors quote *Chronicon Turonense, s. anno 1062* (BOUQUET, *Rec. des His. des Gaules*, XII, at p. 462): *Hic Gaufridus de Pruiliaco torneamenta invenit*. Geoffroy, Lord of Preilly in Anjou died in 1063: *Ex chronico Andegavensi altero G. Preuilly apud Andegavum occidit* (BOUQUET, *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, XI, 169; cf. also Du CANGE, *Appendix I, post, p. ii*; VOLTAIRE, *Essai sur les Mœurs*, Ch. XCIX).

(4) This opinion the author supports by these authorities from old French literature, *Garin li Loherains* (XII. cent.), *Gui de Nanteuil* (c. 1210), *Aiol* (commencement of XIII. c.),

6 THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT.

bable, viz., that the first tournaments were a form of feudal warfare, "de la guerre privée." They were fought, without strategy, after a formal challenge, at a fixed time, and even in the presence of the knights' ladies. Such an explanation does not negative their relationship to sport. All it supposes is that the love of games on horseback evolved the tournament in the Middle Ages, when war was sport, when strength, not learning, was man's ideal. As the sport of knights it had no rival throughout the Middle Ages, and even down to the end of the XVI. century, he who "justed beste of all" was the finest sportsman. For over five centuries the tournament in one form or another flourished, and it was only displaced by the creation of standing armies and the perfecting of firearms.

Historians are not agreed about the French origin of the tournament, but without doubt it came to us from France, surrounded by an atmosphere which that country alone could have given to it. If the following origin of the word *lists* is correct is there not something peculiarly French in it? In early French history the King held public assemblies or Courts Royal called *lis*; the derivation of the word is unknown. It has been suggested that it comes from an old Celtic word meaning "Court," still used in Bas-Breton. From these Courts Royal were named later the solemn state meetings called *lits de justice*. The change from *lis* to *lit* is explained by those who put forward these arguments as being euphonic(1). At these assemblies the

Renaud de Montauban (XIII c.) The references are given in GAUTIER, *La Chevalerie* (Ed. 1883), at p. 676.

Some great feudal chiefs could make war on each other without the consent of their sovereign lord (Du CANGE, *Des guerres privées, et du droit de guerre par coutume* (Ed. 1887), *Dissertation*, XXIX., x. 100.

(1) LEBER, in his article, "Origine et Cérémonial des Lits de Justice" (*Coll. des Meilleures Dissertations*, etc., VI, 380), notes the use of the term *lit de justice* in 1715 as applied to the "trône où le roi est assis lorsqu'il siège solennellement en son parlement."

THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT. 7

King was present with all his insignia of office. At one end of his sceptre was a flower half open, and perhaps the flower was called *fleur de lis*. From this symbolic flower on the sceptre came the royal arms, *azur à trois fleur-de-lys*; blue was the colour of the royal mantle. Where, as was often the case, military exercises were held at the *lis*, they came to be called *lisses*, later *fêtes-lisses*, hence *lisse*, the name of the place of exercise. How the double "s" became "c" in *lices* cannot be explained, but derivations from *licium* (1) or *palicium* (2) have never been accepted (3).

¶ The atmosphere of the tournament was chivalry (4). Chivalry (5), the romance of feudalism, was a body of sentiment and custom, developed at an epoch in our history which was fertile in new ideas accurately defined. Just as feudalism reduced the

Chivalry
and the
Tournam-
ent.

(1) Band of material surrounding the lists.

(2) Paling round the lists.

(3) LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, etc., VIII., 111. MURRAY derives *lists* from O.E. *liste*, border or edging. Caxton uses *lyces* from the French: "came unto the lyces of Kyng Charles . . . as he shold fyght al armed."

(4) Throughout the history of Chivalry we find numerous descriptions of the tournament, the preparation of the noble to take part in it, and the feasting which followed. There is hardly a page in *L'Ancienne Chevalerie* of ST. PALAYE which does not contain one.

(5) Chivalry was only completely developed in Europe in the Middle Ages, but travellers have described sentiments of chivalry in savage tribes, and history records traces of chivalry in the East and in the West before the Middle Ages. The chivalry of Saladin or of the Moors in Spain was perhaps learned from the Crusaders and the Spaniards. FROISSART is the contemporary historian of Chivalry. SAINT BEUVE has called his *Chronicles* the "Bible of Chivalry." FROISSART was no knight of chivalry. "Il a dit encore de lui-même dans une ballade, qu'au bruit du vin qu'il entend verser de la bouteille, qu'au fumet des viandes appétissantes . . . son esprit se renouvelle, et qu'il se renouvelle encore à voir chaque fleur en sa saison, et les chambres éblouissantes de lumières pendant les longues veilles, comme aussi à trouver bon lit après la fatigue, sans oublier la friande collation arrosée de clai-ret, que l'on fait pour mieux dormir." (ST. BEUVE, *Causeries de Lundis*, 3rd Ed., IX, 84). SIR WALTER SCOTT, in his *Essay on Chivalry*, pictures Chivalry: "A beautiful and fantastic piece of frostwork, which has dissolved in the beams of the sun."

8 THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT.

administration of the manor, the unit of the landholder, to a very perfect system (1), so was chivalry codified, and from its code it never occurred to any noble to depart (for to be chivalrous was the exclusive right of the noble). This code made war the noble's business, or in times of peace its image, the tournament. It defended his actions on the ground of honour and religion ; it regulated his conduct in daily life, in battle and in tournament, by its elaborate ceremonial ; it made the love of ladies the pleasure of his leisure hours, and the prize to be won in war and in the lists(2). The ideal knight knew not fear, his honour was his most priceless jewel ; full of personal pride and self-respect, he was gentle, courteous and generous. On the darker side is written a story in which we read of many an incident of ferocious anger, cruelty and licence. But cannot we condone these blots on the escutcheon of chivalry, when we remember how she embodied her highest ideals in the simple-hearted, fearless, romantic knight, whose memory still sounds the clarion call in the hearts of those whose aspirations rise above the material ? Chivalry is impersonated for ever in

(1) At the end of the XII. century, when WALTER OF HENLEY wrote his "Husbandrie" (LAMOND, *Walter of Henley's Husbandry*, 1890). The earliest printed edition is by WYNKYN DE WORDE, *Tretyce off Housbandry*, undated ; the next is contained in *The Book of Thrift*, printed by Wolfe, 1589).

(2) LA COLOMBIÈRE, in his *Vray Théâtre d'Honneur* (Ed. 1648, I, p. 19), cites an old MS. tale of a French knight : " Qui porta par tout, aux Royaumes de France, d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Espagne, le portrait de sa maitresse, sur un Escu, lequel il portait descouvert, et lors qu'il trouvoit quelque Chevalier, que ne vouloit pas confesser qu'elle étoit la plus belle du monde, il fichoit une lance en terre, et y appendoit son Escu, et puis joustoit avec une autre lance, et se couvroit d'un autre Escu, sur lequel il n'y avoit aucun portrait ; et lors que la fortune lui estoit si favorable qu'il renversoit le Chevalier qui osoit joster contre lui, le contenu de son Emprise portoit que le Chevalier vaincu estoit tenu de luy donner le portrait et le nom de sa maitresse, escrit au dessous avec le sien." It was a condition imposed on the knight that he should return with the portraits of the ladies of 30 conquered knights before he should receive "la legitime jouissance de la personne" of his lady.

THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT. 9

Bayard, the *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*(1). Alas! with the poets we must now say :—

“The knight’s bones are dust,
And his good sword rust—
His soul is with the Saints, I trust”(2).

Chivalry and the tournament were as foster-sister and brother(3) of the Middle Ages, but it was from chivalry that the tournament caught that setting which grips the imagination and stirs the enthusiasm of men with a spark of Don Quixotism in their natures. When chivalry is at last touched by the hand of decay, the tournament, her foster-brother, survives to carry on her traditions under new forms, but with a florid extravagance which, through various transformations, dooms him to the trivial destiny of the showy pageant.

We realise that chivalry as a system regulating the young noble’s daily conduct was fast dying when reading the half satiri-

The closing
days of
Chivalry.

(1) The reader will, perhaps, have seen the suit of armour of about 1520 in the Rotunda Museum, Woolwich, which is supposed to have belonged to Bayard. It is engraved, russeted, partly gilt, and in places fluted. The leg defences are polygonal, which is a very rare form, the breastplate globose. For an account of some tournaments in which Bayard took part, read *La très-joyeuse plaisante et récréative histoire du bon Chevalier sans paour et sans reproche, le gentil seigneur de Bayart* (1st Ed., 1527), the best reading edition is of 1882.

(2) COLERIDGE, *The Knight’s Tomb*.

(3) In the hey-day of Chivalry, before the esquire could be of the Order of Chivalry, he had to furnish “preuve de sa noblesse, de quatre quartiers paternels et de quatre maternels.” He must have fought a single combat: “à toute outrance avec l’espée, tranchant et poignant, et estre demeuré victorieux; auoir jousté à fer esmoulu et auoir fait vuidier les arçons ou transpercé son ennemy; estre le premier monté sur une eschelle, lors qu’on attaque une ville ou forteresse par escalade; estre entré le premier par une brèche, ou par une mine; estre sauté et entré le premier dans la navire ou la galère des ennemis, et en estre demeuré le maistre; auoir gagné en une bataille rangée l’Estendard ou la principale Bannière du General de l’armée ennemie; auoir pris en une bataille quelque Turc, ou autre infidelle prisonnier de considération.”—LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d’honneur*, Ed. 1648, I, 17.

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cal, half serious *Histoire et plaisante cronique du Petit Jehan de Saintré*(1) written in 1459. When we follow that loveable hero, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*(2), through the dangers, disappointments and difficulties of his struggles to lead the life of a knight errant of days gone by, it is still more forcibly brought home to us that at the end of the XVI. century all that was left of chivalry was the dream of an ideal. If CERVANTES "smil'd Spain's Chivalry away," he left "a visible landmark, it stands at the parting of the ways." Don Quixote personifies the exaggeration of courage, generosity and love, and lives immortal despite the *rare inventor's* fire of riddling ridicule, much of which, through time, has long lost its edge. From chivalry sprang a minor ideal, "the point of honour," for even to-day we describe as an act of chivalry an action which honour alone does not call for. "The point of honour" was for a long time the privilege of the upper class, as chivalry had been of the noble, until democracy claimed to share it. To us it seems strange, indeed, that it could have been so. At last democracy has stormed the barriers of our modern lists, and is burning to play its rôle and show its metal in new spheres undreamed of by our forefathers. But does it realize that, whatever the battlefield, the same old knightly qualities of physical and moral courage, of high endurance, of steadfastness and of personal detachment, are more than ever necessary to achieve success? So let us hope that the priceless heritage of chi-

(1) By ANTOINE DE LA SALLE (1398?—1462). For miniature illustrations, *vide* Cott. MS., Nero D., IX., "*Histoire de Jean de Saintré*" (c. 1480) and HEWITT, *Ancient Armour*, iii, pl. 94.

(2) MIGUEL DE CERVANTES-SAAVEDRA (1547—1616) wrote the first part after 1591 and the second after 1614. The former was famous in MS. before it was printed in 1605. The first English translation by Thomas Shelton was printed in 1612.

THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT. I I

valry will never utterly perish, that some of its vital sparks will go on lighting the torches of the ideal through the centuries to come, and that the bearers of them will in their moments of greatest stress and bitterest defeat supremely triumph over fate and circumstance with the old cry of arms, "Tout est perdu sauf l'honneur."



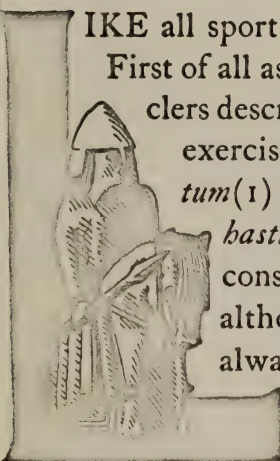


*The Second Seal of Richard I.
Used c. 1197—1199.*

The History of the Tournament.

II.

THE TERMS USED IN THE SPORTS OF CHIVALRY.



LIKE all sports the tournament had its own terminology. First of all as to a general word by which the old chroniclers described the gathering at which all the warlike exercises of the knights took place. *Torneamentum*(1) is by no means the only general term used ; *hastiludium* and *burdicia* are quite as common and constantly recur in papal and royal prohibitions, although the grand solemn and royal fête is nearly always named the *torneamentum*(2). The *torneamentum* included more than one kind of sport, but all were of the same nature, fighting in groups or singly, generally mounted, but also on

The terminology used in tournaments, *Torneamentum*, *Hastiludium*, etc.

(1) The use of the terms *torneamentum*, *hastiludium*, etc., are fully discussed in Du CANGE, both under the words themselves in his *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinatis*, and in his *Dissertation VI, De l'Origin et de l'Usage des Tournois*, and *Dissertation VII, Des armes à outrance*, etc. (*Appendices I and II, post*, pp. i-xxii). The best edition of Du CANGE is that in 10 vols., 4to, 1887, by LEOPOLD FAVRE ; *Dissertation VII* is printed in LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, etc., Vol. XIII, p. 62.

(2) MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie Ancienne et Moderne* (Ed. 1683), p. 234 : "Les Tournois estoient des Fêtes solennelles entreprises par des Princes et grands Seigneurs, auxquelles on invitoit par les Herauts d'armes les Chevaliers de divers Royaumes"; a charter of EDWARD I. speaks of *torneamenta, justas, burdicias sive alia hastiludia*.

Writers in Latin also use the terms : *torneamentum ludum* (R. DE WENDOVER), *ludi eques-*

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foot or on water(1). In the very early days the chief feature of the tournament was a mimic battle between two opposing bodies of knights, preceded by the practising of one knight against another in single contests, *justae*(2); a little later were added attacks on temporarily erected fortresses, to recall the sieges of the crusaders, or at bridges and defiles, in imitation of the incidents occurring on the open plains and due to the varied features of the ground where the early tournament took place. These were called *passus* and it was from them that the combats at the *barriers* of later times were derived(3).

*Tournois,
justes be-
hourds, pas
d'armes.*

When the historian writes in French he uses the expressions derived from these latin words, *tournois*, *behourds*, *justes*, *pas d'armes* or some other purely French words of the time(4).

*Tourney, just,
Round Table.*

Writers in English are naturally later; CHAUCER writes of *tournament*, *tourney* and *just*(5). *Pas d'armes* and *mêlée* are

tri (MONTFAUCON, *His. de France*, Ed. 1731, III, 104, in the account of the entry of Queen Isabel into Paris in 1389), *ludi militares, militaria exercita, gladiaturae, imaginariae bellorum prolusiones, meditationes militares* (Du CANGE, *Des Tournois, Dissertation VI, Appendix I, post, p. i*). The use of the word *hastiludium* survived in the form of armorial grants by CHARLES V.: *Quibus quidem armorum insigniis Tu et Posteritas tua praefata de caetero arbitrio in omnibus, et singulis honestis decentibusque actibus, ut expeditionibus, tam serio, quam ioco Nobilium, Militarium, Armigerorum more in Torneamentis hastiludiis, bellis, duellis, singulari certaminae, etc.* (MENESTRIER, *Le véritable Art du Blason et l'Origine des Armoiries*, Ed. 1672, p. 330).

(1) STRUTT, *Sports and Pastimes* (Ed. 1903), p. 127, Plate XVIII.

(2) *Tentavere primo regii pro ludium pagnae facere, quod JUSTAM vocant* (W. DE MALMESBURY, *Historia Novella*, anno sub. anno 1141). It was at these practices that an esquire was trained.

(3) *Harl. MS. 6069, fo. 113d, No. 67, printed in Appendix VI.*

(4) Thus for "justes," there are the expressions:—*Vespres du tournoi, escremerie, essais encommencaille* (ST. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie*, Ed. 1759, I, p. 60; MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie Ancienne et Moderne*, Ed. 1683, p. 235).

For "pas d'armes" *castilles* (ST. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie* (Ed. 1759), I, pp. 92, 157-8, 265, where authorities are cited). These were also attacks on *défilés, gués, et ponts* (*Ibid.*, p. 265). For "tournois," *mêlée, la presse, combat à la foule, cembel*.

(5) The facts are all against the spelling *joust*. The "ou" is short by origin, O.F. *joster, juster*, Prov. *justar*, Sp. and Port. *justar*, Ital. *giostare*, from the Latin *juxtare*, to approach, draw near, *juxta*, near. The historical spelling of XIII. c. is *just* (cf. CHAUCER, *Knight's Tale*, l. 1862, "But as a justès or a tourneyinge"). Under later Fr. influence

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adopted without any change(1). There is one more general term, which seems to have originated in England, "the knightly game called the Round Table." DU CANGE cites *Le Vieux Cérémonial*: "Le Roy Arthus et le Duc de Lancastre ordonnerent et firent la Table Ronde et les behours, tournois et joustes, et moult d'autres choses nobles, et jugemens d'armes, dont ils ordonnerent pour juger dames et damoiselles, roys d'armes et héraux"(2). MATTHEW PARIS writes of the sports in the year 1252: *non ut in hastiludio, quod torneamentum dicitur, sed potius in illo ludo militari, qui MENSA ROTUNDA dicitur*(3). The distinction between the Round Table and the tournament was that the former was purely a pastime for sport generally held in circular

(when the French began to turn *juster* or *joster* into *jouter*) ; *joust* was used sometimes by GOWER, CAXTON, SPENSER and MILTON, and was preferred by JOHNSON and used by SCOTT, and is now more frequent ; but the pronunciation remained as in the historical spelling. The pronunciation *just* (with long "u," "ou" as in soup) is recent and suggested by the spelling, *joust*.

(1) "Pass of arms" has no other authority than its use in CHAMBERS' *Encyclopædia* (1727).

(2) *Appendix II, post*, p. xvi.

(3) *Hist. Angl.*, Rolls Ed., III, 124. See also DU CANGE, *Appendix II, post*, p. xv. ; *Rex Edwardus fecit convocari artifices ad castrum de Wyndeshores, et coepit aedificare domum, quae ROTUNDA TABULA vocaretur. Habuit autem ejus area a centro ad circumferentiam, per semidiametrum, centum pedes ; et sic diametri, 200 pedum erat. Eodem tempore Philippus de Valeys, Rex Franciae, hoc facto Regis Angliae provocatus, coepit et ipse ROTUNDAM aedificare TABULAM in terra sua ; ut sic sibi attraheret militiam Alemanniae et Italiae, ne ad Regis Angliae Tabulam properarent* (WALSINGHAM, anno 1344, Rolls Ed., I, 262-3). *Illustris miles Rogerus de Mortuo Mari, apud Kelyngwurthe ludum militarem, quem vocant ROTUNDAM TABULAM, centum militum ac tot dominarum, constituit ; ad quam, pro armorum exercitio, de diversis regnis confluit militia nimis* (*Ibid.*, I, 19).

ATHENAEUS in his *Deipnosophistae* (Book IV, c. 36), when describing the Celtic banquet says :—"But when many of them sup together, they all sit in a circle ; and the bravest in the middle, because he is superior to the rest in his military skill, or in birth, or in riches, and the man who gives the entertainment sits next to him, and then on each side the rest of the guests sit in regular order, according as each is eminent or distinguished for anything." This passage is often quoted as an argument for the ancient use of a round table to avoid the difficulties in precedence (*Appendix II, xv.*). It does not appear to have that meaning at all.

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lists(1), arms "of courtesy" only being used(2). The Round Table sports were always followed by the feasting of the guests at the expense of the noble who *enterprised* the fête(3). FROISSART, in his description of some of the daring deeds of Bouciquaut says that he entertained "all comers" most magnificently at a great gathering for the sports of the *Round Table* and feasted them at his own personal expense.

Weapons
used in the
tournament.

*Torneamen-
tum quasi
hostile.*

*Pas
d'armes,
Pas de
Saladin.*

As to the arms used, some writers aver that the earliest tourneys and justs were fought with blunted weapons, but soon, however, the knights found these insufficient, thirsting for a more stringent test of courage, and the tourney and just became very real imitations of war and wagers of battle in which sharp swords and lances were used, when the contests were said to be fought *à outrance*(4), or "at utteraunce"(5) as LORD BERNERS translates the expression in the XVI. century. MATTHEW PARIS calls a contest of this character, *torneamentum quasi hostile*(6).

As time wore on these "chivalrous designs of knightly trial" were no longer designated by words derived from *torneamentum*, *hastiludium* or *burdicia*, either in French or English. Towards

(1) MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie Ancienne et Moderne* (Ed. 1683), at p. 230.

(2) The expression "of courtesy" came from the French. Such weapons were blunted and without a sharp point.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 233; *Appendix II*, xv.

(4) *Outrer*, "percer son enemy de l'épée ou de la lance" (Du CANGE, *post*, p. xi, *Appendix II*. Cf. also G. CHASTELLAIN, *Histoire du bon Chevalier Jacques de Lalain* (Ed. 1634, p. 158) "de grande haste et ardeur que le Seigneur de Haguét avait de ferir et outrer Messire Simon de Lalain"; OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE in *Le liere de l'advis de gaigne de bataille*, printed in the *Traité du duel judiciaire*, Paris, 1872, ed. by PROST, p. 21, where the Duc de Bourgogne "ne laissa point outrer la bataille," between "Messire Hector de Flavy et ung escuier nommé Maillotin de Bours," in 1431.

(5) *The first volume of the Cronycles of England, etc.*, by SIR JOHAN FROYSSHART, *Imprinted at London in Flete Street by Richard Pynson, Printer to the Kynges noble grace; and ended the xxviii. day of January, the yere of our Lord MDCXXII*(1). Folio. *Translated out of frenche into our maternall Englysshe tonge*, by JOHAN BOURCHIER, KNIGHTE LORDE BERNERS, *at the comaundement, of... Henry the viii...*

(6) Du CANGE, *Appendix II, post*, p. xi.

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the end of the XIV. century they were more often described after the chief events of the tournament, as "just," "tourney" or *Pas d'armes*. Sometimes they were called *Pas de Saladin*(1), and represented the then already half legendary exploits of Richard I. and Saladin, as seen depicted on old tapestries(2) or carved ivories.

Later the "marciall playe and warly disporte" is the *just*(3), because the knight could better show his individual skill and triumph before the ladies of the court, who were his judges. And so the old sport was kept alive and developed under royal patronage, increasing in magnificence and luxury. In France the usual term was *Pas d'armes*(4), with the equivalent in

"Justus of
Pees,"
Pas d'armes,
"Triumph."

(1) "At the entry of Queen Isabel of Bavaria, in 1389, on a large scaffold stood the French knights, armed, and in front of them, the Saracens, also armed. Above the King of France stood Richard Cœur de Lion, who, when the Queen approached, came down and asked the King's permission to fight the Saracens, the battle began and lasted a good long time" (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, X, 185, from FROISSART). See the engraving from a miniature of this tournament of about 1420 in MONTFAUCON, *Les Monuments de la Monarchie*, etc., Ed. 1731, III, 106, Plate XXIV. Cf. *Hist. Lit. de la France*, Vol. XXIII, 485, containing an article by Victor Le Clerc on a MS. of c. 1300, in verse describing a *Pas Salhadin*, which has been printed: *Pièce historique en vers, relative aux croisades, publiée pour la première fois, d'après le manuscrit de la Bibl. du roi*, par G. S. TREBUTIEN, Paris, 1836, 8°.

(2) The will of the Black Prince says "Item, nous donons et devisons a n're dit filz la sale darras du pas de Saladyn" (*Coll. of all the Wills now known to be extant of the Kings and Queens of England*, by J. N., 1780, at p. 71).

LA COLOMBIÈRE in *Le Vray Theatre d'Honneur*, etc., cites JEAN JUVENAL DES URSINS, Arch. of Rheims, as writing that he does not further describe the tournament of 1389 at Rheims "pourceque lesdits joustes avoient esté faites de belles tapisseries selon que les Rois et les Princes avoient accoustumé en ce temps-là" (Vol. I, p. 227). Poorer nobles had frescoes painted.

The *Pas de Saladin* survived as an *entremet* to a great feast. At such a one given by Charles V. to the Emperor Charles IV., a ship was drawn into the banquetting hall, followed by a tower of Jerusalem defended by Saracens. The Christian knights landing from the ship attack and capture the tower (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, X, 187).

(3) *Justus of Pees* (Temp. Ed. IV., Lansd. MS. 285, No. 6, Appendix, p. xxxiii.)

(4) The fête held in Paris in 1541, the chief feature of which was an attack on a *bastillon*, was called a *Pas d'armes* (L. & P. Hen. VIII., Vol. XVI, No. 823), as was that held in Paris in 1559, when Henri II. was mortally injured.

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English, perhaps, of *Triumph*(1), although *Triomphe* was also used by the French.

"The tournament of Tottenham."

A sport which received the patronage of the King and the great nobles(2) was one, which would obviously attract other classes as soon as they acquired some degree of independence and ownership of property. An old MS. of earlier date than the reign of Edward III. perhaps illustrates this point(3). It is entitled *The Turnament of Tottenham. Or the wooing, winning, and wedding, of Tibbe, the reev's daughter there. Written long since in verse by Mr. Gilbert Pilkington, etc., taken out of an ancient MS., and published for the delight of others by Wilhlm Bedwell, now Pastour there*(4). It describes a sort of comical tournament of

(1) *Richard II.*, Act V, Sc. 2, l. 52: "What news from Oxford? hold those justs and triumphs?"; *Ibid.*, Act V, Sc. 3, l. 14; *Pericles*, Act II, Sc. 2, l. 1: "Are the knights ready to begin the triumph?"

(2) In early days, to be admitted to a tournament, a noble had to qualify by *naissance* (i.e., nobility for four generations), *état* and *mœurs*; later anyone ennobled was received; then the great families of towns, if not in commerce, were admitted, and gradually these stringent rules were much relaxed (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, etc., Vol. XIII, 11).

(3) I say perhaps, because the song is sometimes classed as a "comic romance," making fun of the villein imitating his lord and his amusements. Similarly the poem of *The Justing betuix James Watsoun and Jhone Barbour, Servitouris to King James the Fyft* (the one a medicinar and the other a *leche* of the royal household), by SIR D. LINDSAY is so classed.

(4) 1st Ed. 1631. The reader is referred to a passage in Robert Laneham's letter written in 1575, "wherein part of the entertainment unto the Queen's Majesty at Killingworth Castl in Warwickshceer in this Somers Progress is signified"; it relates how Queen Elizabeth watched the justing at the quintain by the country bridegroom and younger men at a marriage feast. The bridegroom "in his fartherz tawny worsted jacket, a fayr strawn hat with a capitall crooun, steepl wyze on his hed, a payr of harvest glovez on his hands, as a sign of good husbandry; a pen and inkhorn at his bak; for he would be knownen to be bookish; lame of a leg that in his youth was broken at football. . . . bråk his spear treshardiment; but his mare in hiz manage did a little so titubate, that mooch adoo had hiz manhood to sit in his saddl, and to 'scape the foyl of a fall." The bride is described as a "stale stallion, and a well spred (hot az the weather waz), Got wot, and ill smelling was she; a thirtie-five yer old, of colour brown-bay, not very beautifull indeed, but ugly, fooul, ill favor'd; yet marveyulous fain for the offis." The same sport is recorded as taking place at a country wedding as late as 1772 on the village green at Kingsthorp (BAKER, *History of Northamptonshire*, i, 40).

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country people, fighting with flails, mounted on any animal they could find :

"I wot it was no children's game, when they together meete,

"There was clenking of cart-saddles, and clattering of canes,

"Of fell frekes in the field; broken were their fannes;

"Of some were the heads broken, of some the braine pannes."(1)

The less important knights got up justing matches, "combats d'occasion qui se faisoient le plus souvent sans dresser des lices, en étendant des cordes qu'on nommoit *Estachettes*" (2), whilst to the people was left the old game of the *Quintain*(3), which in the days of chivalry had been practised by the young noble, who on initiation had, as part of the ceremony, to mount his horse, take his lance and tilt at a mannequin, generally the figure of a Saracen.

The people, excluded from the lists, had to practise their justing on the village green or on the water, as

(1) *The Turnament of Tottenham*, Ed. 1718, at p. 154.

(2) MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie Ancienne et Moderne* (Ed. 1683), p. 233.

(3) The exercise of the *Quintain* was of great antiquity. VEGETIUS, *De re militari*, I, cap. XI et XIV, quoted by MENESTRIER, *Traité des Tournois* (Ed. 1669), p. 265. Girard de Roussillon (chanson de geste of the early XIII. century) translated by P. MEYER, 1884, at p. 1, § 1, "Au dehors Girart et sa mesnie bâtissent des quintaines, et se livrent à maint exercice"; MENESTRIER, *Traité des Tournois* (Ed. 1669), p. 264; DU CANGE, *Glossarium in voce Quintana*; *Ibid. Appendix II, post*, p. xviii; STRUTT, *Sports and Pastimes* (Ed. 1903), p. 106, who gives many interesting anecdotes and reproductions of miniatures of old MSS.; cf. also LACROIX, *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, fig. 120, from the *Chroniques de Charlemagne* of the XV. c. in the Burgundian Lib., Brussels, and PLUVINEL, *Manège royal*, engravings by CRISPIN DE PAS. SHAKESPEARE refers to it in *As you like it* (Act. I, Sc. 2, ll. 261-2) :

" My better parts

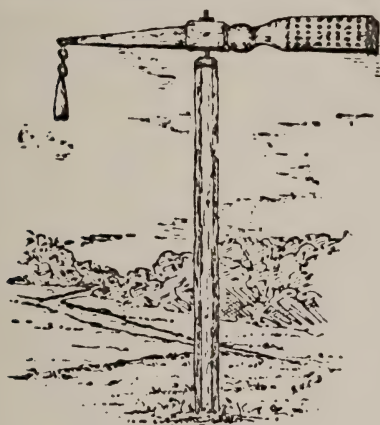
"Are all thrown down, and that which here stands up

"Is but a quintain, a mere lifeless block."

The modern military tournament still includes this ancient form of mounted exercise.

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Londoners had done from the XII. century (1). Thus the noble had his tilt in the public street in front of his house (2),



The Quintain at Offham Green.

the burgess his quintain on the village common. Still standing on Offham Green in Kent is a quintain, in form as the old one, and on the traditional site, repairable by the lord of the Manor, a tradition which the present lord follows. M. JUSSERAND very happily quotes CHATEAUBRIAND in reference to the sport of the quintain, which he witnessed at the old family home of his father ; he speaks of it as an emblem

(1) HEWITT, *Ancient Armour*, I, 185-9; MEYRICK, *Ancient Armour*, I, 81; TIMBS, *London* (Ed. 1885), p. 16; STRUTT, *Sports and Pastimes* (Ed. 1903), p. 108, reproducing miniature from *MS. Ry. Lib. 2, B. VII.*; MATTHEW PARIS, anno 1253; NICHOLS, *Progresses* (I., 338), giving an account of the water tournament which took place before the Queen at Sandwich in 1573.

(2) ST. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie* (Ed. 1759), i, 156:—"Il faut peut être chercher dans cet usage des tournois, l'origine peu connue du privilège attaché aux maisons de Paris occupées par les Princes du sang et les grands officiers de la Couronne, au devant desquelles on voit des barrières : peut être eurent-ils le droit exclusif de faire planter ces lices comme étant les seuls qui pouvoient donner dans leurs hôtels le spectacle des joûtes et des tournois." SAWAL, *Hist. et Rech. des Ant. de la ville de Paris*, II, 683 : "Avec le tems, ils (tournois) devinrent si communs, que non seulement au Palais et au Louvre, à l'Hotel Royal de Saint Pol, à celui des Tournelles et à ceux d'Orléans et des Princes, il y avoit des lices exprès pour de tels spectacles, et affectés à ces exercices, mais encore il s'en faisoit à la Place Royale, à la Grève, devant l'Hôtel de Guise, à la Rue Saint Antoine, et de plus, à la Coulture Sainte Catherine, contre l'ancienne clôture, aux environs de la rue des Francs-Bourgeois. Et de fait, en 1389, Charles VI., qui étoit passionné pour cette sorte de passe-tems, acheta l'Hotel d'Alençon, bâti dans la Rue du Roi de Sicile, à la place de l'Hotel de St. Pol d'aujourd'hui, afin d'avoir une maison où il pût promptement changer d'habit, lorsqu'il voudroit entrer sur les rangs à la Coulture St. Catherine. . . . Pour ne point perdre le tems à décrire les lices, tant des Hotels des Ducs de Berri et de Bourgogne, que des autres Princes et Grands du Royaume, il suffit de dire que les plus fréquentées et les plus belles, du temps de Charles VI., étoient dans l'Hotel de Duc d'Orléans," etc.

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of feudalism: "J'ai été placé assez singulièrement dans la vie pour avoir assisté aux courses de la quintaine et à la proclamation des Droits de l'homme." (1).

In France the burgesses had their tourneys, justs and *Pas d'armes*, called variously *toupineiz*, *behourds*, *Fête de l'Epinette*, etc. (2) and other names, varying with the locality where they were

The bourgeois and his sports in France. *Toupineiz*, *Behourds*, *Fête de l'Epinette*, etc.

(1) *Les sports et jeux d'exercice*, etc., p. 168. While speaking of survivals of the games of chivalry, it is interesting to quote from MEYRICK, *Antient Armour* (II, 67): "Thus at Longthorpe, Gloucs., on the 1st May, the inhabitants of that and the adjoining parishes assemble on the top of Yarleton Hill to fight for the possession of it, and on Whitsunday a similar battle takes place between the Fulham boys and those of the hamlet of Hammer-smith." This author also describes the *Giucco del Ponte di Pisa*, as to which see *post*, p. 22 *et seqq.*

(2) *Tupineiz*, *Behourds*, *Fêtes de l'Epinette*, et autres divertissements chevaleresques de l'ancienne bourgeoisie (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, XII, 162, 449, XIII, 99). "*Toupineiz*," derived from "*toupin*," an earthenware pot (MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie*, etc. Ed. 1683, p. 234). The Chevalier Bayard competed at Lyons *aux toupineures* (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, XIII, 109). These fêtes were held at the expense of all the burgesses (MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie*, etc., Ed. 1683, p. 234).

Toupin appears in slang, *toupetter*, pour accepter de boire une santé à la ronde (*Ibid.*).

Behourd (bohourt, burdicia, see *ante*, p. 13): the word was used in very early days instead of "justing," cf. WACE (1112-1184): "les uns alerent bohorder" describing sports at King Arthur's coronation. It is used in a MS. of 1303, *Myracles and Bourdys or Tournementys*, etc." There is an interesting MS. (Harl. No. 6069, fo. 113d) defining *buhort* as "diminutif de tourney," and stating that there was no official "cry" before a "buhort" or "perron et blazon," *Vide post*, Appendix VI, where it is printed.

The *Fête de l'Epinette* was that first held at Lille in 1283 (LUCIEN DE ROSNY, *L'Epervier d'or ou un description historique des Joutes, et des Tournois, qui, sous le titre de Nobles Rois de l'Epinette se célébrèrent à Lille au moyen âge*, Paris, 1839, 80.). At this fête, a "roi" was selected on "mardi-gras," justs were held and the prize was a golden spur. The "roi" was one of the challengers, who had to meet all comers. In 1484, in the presence of Louis XI., a boy of fifteen killed a nobleman of the royal suite in a just. (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, XII, 449, XIII, 104; MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie Ancienne et Moderne*, Ed. 1683, p. 242). Cf. also Du Cange, Appendix II, *post*, p. xix.

Emprise: "Les Emprises estaient des Joustes entreprises par quelque Chevalier particulier, qui portoit durant un mois, six mois, on un an, au bras, à la jambe, sur son chaperon, ou en quelque autre endroit le signe de son Emprise, qui estoit une écharpe, une manche, un garde-bras, une chaîne, une étoile, on quelque autre marque semblable, dont vint le nom d'*Emprises* et d'*Imprese*, que l'on a donné aux Devises (MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie*, etc., Ed. 1683, p. 234). The challenger usually wore his "*emprise*" on Sundays and Fête days; cf. the wearing of a collar of gold by Lord Scales round his thigh. The mourning band on the arm is the survival of the *emprise*.

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held(1). They were extremely popular as early as the XIII. century, and included all kinds of similar exercises on horse-back, "on y couroit au faquin, au pot cassé, au barril plein d'eau, au sac moüillé et à d'autres courses ridicules, qui estoient indignes de la Noblesse"(2). As developed by the burgesses they became less solemn and dangerous, and were characterized by greater merriment, accompanied possibly with a certain amount of rowdyism; indeed MENESTRIER called them "des débauches et des mascarades" (3). They so attracted the noble, that in 1312, when Philippe le Bel arranged a great fête on the occasion of creating his sons *chevaliers*, he issued an "Ordonnance," prohibiting his *garde* from attending them because he feared that they would desert his solemn tournament for the merry *toupineiz*(4).

The *Giucoco*
del *Mazzas-*
scudo, *Giucoco*
del *Ponte*,
and *Palio*.

In all the cities of Tuscany and Umbria a sport was practised in the XIII. century called the *Giucoco del Mazzascudo* (5). This was a sort of tourney, fought on foot with club (*mazza*) and shield (*scudo*), between bodies of foot soldiers belonging to the communal levies. It is described in some of the old songs

(1) Bruges had its *fête des Forestier*; Valenciennes that of the *Prince de plaisance* et *Prince de l'estrille*, Cambrai that of the *Roi des ribauds*, Bouchain that of the *Prévôt des étourdis*, Douai that of the *Fête des ânes*. All Flanders was much given to them (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, XII, p. 450; MENESTRIER, *De la Chevalerie*, etc., Ed. 1683, pp. 243 et seqq.; ROSNY, *L'Épervier d'Or*, etc., 1839).

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 246.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 246.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 247.

(5) PALIO and PONTE, *an account of the sports of Central Italy from the age of Dante to the XXth. century*, by WILLIAM HEYWOOD, 1904. See ante, p. 21. VOLTAIRE, in his *Essai sur les mœurs*, Ch. 99, alludes to the origin of these games: "Les jeux guerriers commencèrent à prendre naissance en Italie vers le temps de Théodric, qui abolit les gladiateurs au 5^{me} s., non pas en les interdisant par un édit, mais en reprochant aux Romains cet usage barbare, afin qu'ils apprissent d'un Goth l'humanité et la politesse. Il y a ensuite en l'Italie, et surtout dans la royaume de Lombardie, des jeux militaires, de petits combats qu'on appelait *batailles*, dont l'usage s'est conservé encore dans les villes de Venise et Pise."

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of the *trovatori* of the time. The most celebrated of these contests was that fought on the 17th January of each year at Pisa(1), in early times in a field near the city, and from 1491 to 1807 (when it ceased to take place), on a bridge. The Pisan sport came to be called the *Giuoco del Ponte*, and it much resembled in its scrimmage the old Rugby Big Side football match(2). The game lasted in 1574 two hours; in 1650, one hour; and in 1686 forty-five minutes. "*The Giuoco del Ponte* was a relic of popular chivalry, one of the innumerable knightly games which adorned the simple, artistic, warlike life of the hundred Italian Republics. When this infinite variety was destroyed by the monotony of the Principalities, the old chivalric spectacles became gradually rarer and rarer, and then passed away, together with many of the gracious customs of an elder age"(3) The point which is especially interesting is that the *Giuoco del Mazzascudo* was a people's pastime resembling and cotemporary with the tournament, the nobles' sport. This was hardly so with the *Palio*, which although drawing its fierce nature from the old *Giuoco del Mazzascudo*, was a game which originated after the tournament had passed away, though it inherited something of its character. To-day, for it still takes place in Siena, it is quite as much a mimic battle as a race. The riders seek to dismount one another, and are armed with helmets to protect their eyes and faces from the rain of blows which will

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 112.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 123.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 136. "On the floor of a certain bare and dusty room, in the *Museo Civico* of Pisa, are to be seen some hundreds of ancient iron helmets and cuirasses, together with a quantity of wooden shields, in shape, not unlike those which are depicted in the Bayeux tapestry. . . . Such is all that remains to keep alive the memory of that once famous pastime, which aroused such fierce enthusiasm among the Pisans, and inspired so many poets to sing *il glorioso, l'immortal Ponte*." (*Ibid.*, p. 94.)

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be showered on them. "All that civic patriotism and religious fervour can do to stir men's minds to furious rivalry finds vent in these annual struggles, where each competitor represents not a single individual, but a whole *Contrada*, or ward of the city." (1) Siena had been the scene of tournaments as early as 1225. They had taken place at intervals in the Piazza, until at the beginning of the XVI. century they had become absurd farces; then about 1555 they were revived as stately pageants and so continued. Historically, the modern Palio is in its origin "a blending of the *Pugna*, the tournament and the horse-race, embellished and glorified by all the pomp and pageantry of the *Trionfo* and of the masquerade—a Siennese sport, it is true, but a Siennese sport which owes something also to the influence and example of neighbouring cities, and which, possessing therefore a more than local interest, may be fairly regarded as a survival of the old strenuous games which were played, during the Middle Ages, not in Siena alone, but in all the Communes of Central Italy." (2)

The *entremet*
of a fête.

The term *entremet* was curiously applied to tourneys and justs (3). In religious festivals it was usual to introduce some sort of amusements during the day to fill up the hours and to entertain the people. What more natural in those days than

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 198.

(3) "Ce qui doit piquer le plus la curiosité est d'apprendre pourquoi un *tournoi de courtoisie* est joint, dans une aussi grande fête, que celle de la *Fête-Dieu*, aux jeux des diables, des apôtres, des *rascassetos*, de la Reine de Saba, des tirassons, etc. ? C'est parce qu'on ne célébrait point de grande fête qu'on n'y admît ce que l'on nommait alors des *entremets*, mot que l'on a ensuite changé en celui d'*intermède*; de sorte que le Roi René, pour se conformer à cet usage, a introduit dans sa grande fête ces *entremets*" LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, X, p. 114 and p. 116(n.). Cf. *Les mémoires de Messire Olivier de la Marche* (3rd Ed. 1616), at pp. 420-4, 538-584. Writers have explained the introduction of justs, by the Roi René in the *Fête-Dieu* by his desire to keep alive the sports of Chivalry

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the sport of justing, just as at a coronation fête to-day in the country after the religious service comes the cricket match?

One word should be added as to the use of various phrases and words during a tournament. *Laissez aler* (perhaps *lachez allez*(3), appears in the very earliest records of the old judicial combat, long before the institution of the tournament. HOLINS-HEAD and FAVINE have "Let them go," or, "let them goe together"(4). *Holà* was a cry to stop the tourney(5), and is very common in all old descriptions. *Largesse*, the cry of the heralds, has never been translated and was used in English, as indeed it still may be heard(6). *A logis, ployez les banniers* closed the fête.

The words
Laissez aler,
Holà, lar-
gesse, à logis,
etc.

(GREGOIRE, *Explication des cérémonies de la Fête-Dieu d'Aix*, Aix 1777, 12°); for other explanations, cf. PIERRE-JOSEPH DE HAITZE, *L'Esprit du cérémonial d'Aix de la Fête-Dieu*, 1758, 12°, quoted in GREGOIRE, *supra*, p. 8. Vide also the open letter to Gassendi by MATHURIN NEURÉ, (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleures Dissertations*, X, 83).

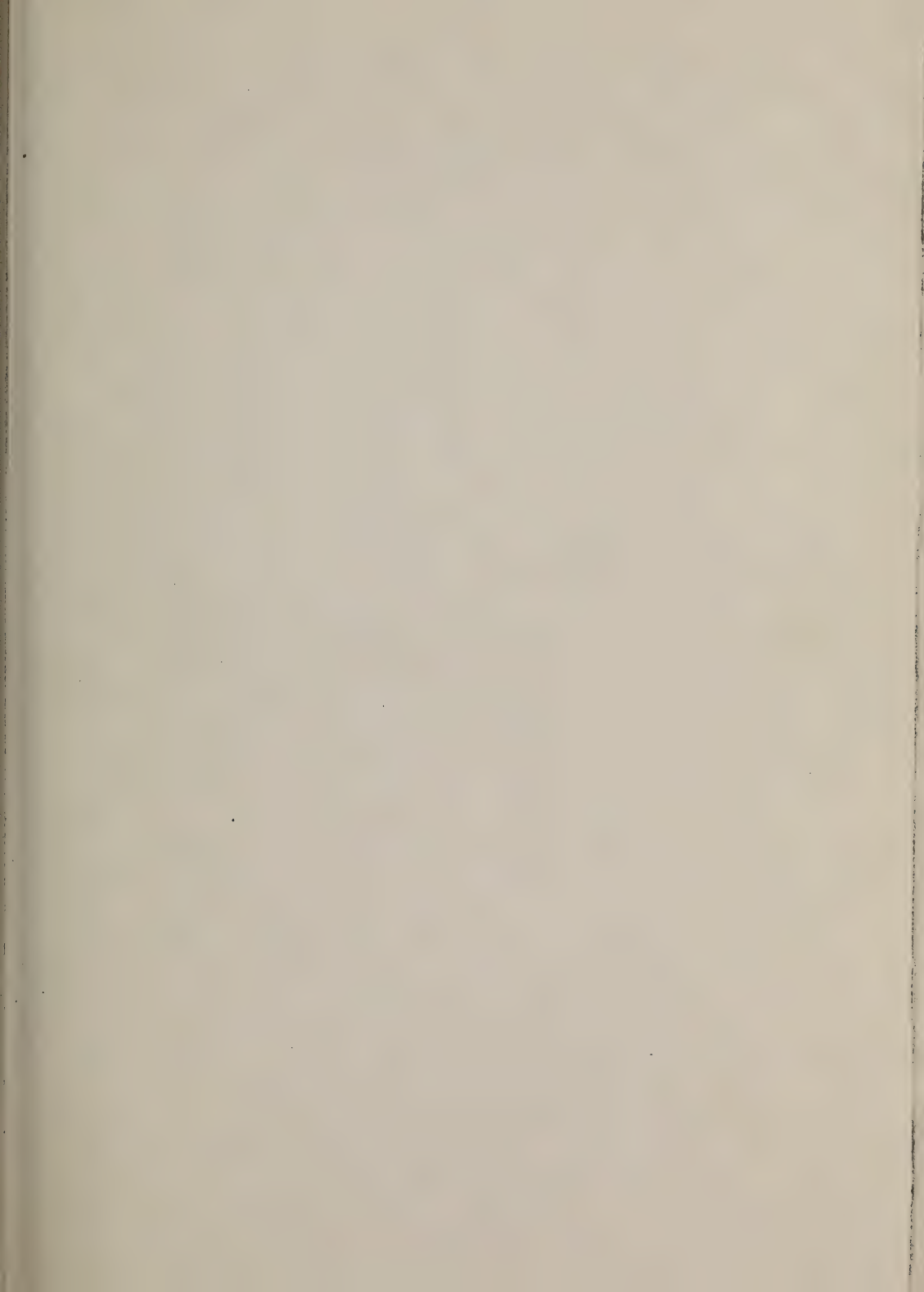
(3) *Traduction littérale d'une ancienne Pièce de vers françois, intitulée: DES TROIS CHEVALIERS ET DEL CANISE*, MS. de Turin, No. G. 1. 19, printed in ST. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie* (Ed. 1781), Vol. III., p. 144.

(4) FAVINE, *Theater of Honour*, Ed. 1666, II., p. 447.

(5) FROISSART, "Then the Erle of Buckingham sayd *holà*. . . ." Lord Berners' translation.

(6) In 1912 a gentleman walking in a Suffolk field came upon a lonely hedger, who humbly cried "Largesse, mister." He claimed "largesse" from the stranger who came into the field. A similar custom is met with in Kent, but the word 'largesse' is not used.







The History of the Tournament.

III.

THE TOURNAMENT IN THE XII., XIII., AND XIV. CENTURIES.



THE Bayeux tapestry and miniatures of old MSS. picture the knight armed for war or tournament. His armour was rough and ready ; on his head he wore a metal cap, *mail*(1) protected his body and legs, and he carried a shield. For 100 years after the battle of Hastings there is little change. An early MS.

The knight
in armour of
the XI. and
XII. cen-
turies.
The early
tournament.
*L'Histoire de
Guillaume le
Maréchal.*

of about 1219, or a little later, compiled by a minstrel in the form of a *chanson de geste* from the lips, or perhaps the memory, of one JEAN D'ERLÉE, gives not only the description of the dress and the armour of the knights, but

(1) This mail is depicted in various ways, and it is conjectured it was of different kinds ; it may be that these differences were only the fancy of the artists, but "until pieces of such mail are discovered under unimpeachable conditions, the point cannot be finally decided" ; it has been suggested that it was of hardened leather, covered with metal scales. This hardened leather is termed in old MSS. *cuir bolli*, and later inaccurately, *cuir-bouilli*. It was never boiled in oil, which would have made it brittle, but steeped in wax dissolved in certain essences, kept well below boiling point (*Brit. Mus. Guide Book, Mediæval*, Ed. 1907, pp. 60, 96).

The craft is mentioned by ESTIENNE BOYLEAU (1200-1269) in the *Règlements sur les Arts et Métiers* (MS. printed in 1837, and edited by DEPPING, p. 164).

The mail for the body, following in shape, like all armour in all ages, the dress of

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also of the tournament of the time(1). It is entitled *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, being the life of WILLIAM, EARL OF PEMBROKE, who, born in 1144, was at an early age a frequenter of tournaments, a pastime of which he made a very profitable profession. After the coronation of Henry (the eldest surviving son of Henry II.), during his father's lifetime, PEMBROKE was made his knight guardian when he travelled abroad. On their return home in 1174 they spent a year in England together "à pleidier ou a bois ou à tornier"(2), and when, in 1176, Henry went back to the continent(3) "por hanter la chevalerie"(4) PEMBROKE accompanied him. The history deals with tournaments at great length(5). The MS. portrays the all-absorbing sport of the time; no romance of chivalry gives such a living image of the sport, in which the knights seek,

the time, was at first sleeveless, and was called the *hauberk*, worn over another thick quilted garment, the *gambison*. By the middle of the XII. century the hauberk had a hood (*coif*) which could be thrown back. Before that time the hood was separate. We know that William the Conqueror only drew his on immediately before the battle of Hastings.

The hauberk with coif was sometimes called the *lorica*, at first worn only by a knight; others wore the hauberk without coif (*cf. Assize of Arms of Henry II., OMAN, Art of War, 512*). The headpiece had a piece of metal called the *nasal* extending downwards over the nose, and so, when the edge of the point of the hauberk was hooked up to this nasal, as seen in some old miniatures, the face was fairly well protected.

(1) *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, Régent d'Angleterre de 1216 à 1219, poème Français, publié par PAUL MEYER, 3 v., 1901.* Jean d'Erlicé was a companion in arms to the great marshal, and there is evidence in the text that he was present at all events at one of the tournaments described (*Ibid.*, III, p. xiii). The history was written at the desire of the marshal's son. The marshal died in 1219.

(2) *Ibid.*, ll. 2393-4, *i.e.*, Justing, hunting and tourneying. The French words *plaidier* and *plaid*s were applied to those tournaments in which the combatants submitted to certain conditions, generally with a view to limiting the danger. This allusion to frequent tournaments is to be noted, as it is generally supposed that few took place in England before Ric. I.

(3) A.D. 1179 *H(enricus), Rex Anglorum junior, mare transiens, in conflictibus Gallicis qui hastiludia vel torneamenta vocantur, in expensis profusioribus, ut laudem militarem promereretur, triennium peregit. Deinde, multis insignitis triumphis et laudibus, ad patrem reversus, cum honore debito susceptus est* (MATTHEW PARIS, *Hist. Ang.*, Rolls Ed., I, 409).

(4) PAUL MEYER, *Hist. de Guillaume le Maréchal*, l. 1544.

(5) *Ibid.*, ll. 2471-5094.

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as in war, to unhorse and make prisoners, and even call to their aid troops of men fighting on foot(1).

The contests seem to have been held in open country, featured perhaps with little woods, a bridge and a stream, and when the word *lices* is used, it would appear to have the same meaning as *recet*, or an agreed place of refuge(2). The tournament was a real fight(3); no sentiment of chivalry protected one knight from the attack of many, or from being taken prisoner when he was unhorsed or had lost his weapons, for one of the objects which actuated many of the combatants in attending tournaments, and undoubtedly PEMBROKE, was to make money. PEMBROKE admitted capturing 500 knights, who must have paid a large sum of money in ransoming their persons, and in obtaining the return of their armour and horses. One passage in the narrative tells us that PEMBROKE was associated in a sort of partnership with one Roger de Gaugi, which resulted in a large mutual profit, and this, the editor of the MS. points out was not a unique case(4) in the history of the lives of warrior knights.

The place chosen for the sport. No boundary. The *recet*, or place of refuge.

From the poem we learn that the knights wore either *heaumes* or *visors*. Allusion is often made to the lacing of the *heaume* and of the *ventaille*:

“Tantost lacièrent lor ventailles
E lor heames e si montèrent.”(5)

The armour of the knights of the period of William the Marshal.

There are references to the hauberk and mail defences of the

(1) *Ibid.*, III, p. xxxvi.

(2) *Ibid.*, ll. 1304, 3453.

(3) Pembroke lived to the age of 75. DU CANGE notes that the Duc de Brabant, who was killed in a tournament held in honour of the marriage of the Comte de Bar, May 3rd, 1294, had taken part in 70 contests (*Appendix II, post*, p. xix).

(4) MEYER, *L'Hist. de Guillaume le Maréchal*, III, p. xli (n. 4).

(5) *Ibid.*, ll. 3522-3. The *heaume* was a great piece of armour which entirely covered the head and face, and even a smaller headpiece (*cf. Romance of Alexander, c. anno 1240, Bib. Nat. Paris, reproduced in FFOULKES, Armour and Weapons, Plate I*). Perhaps

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legs, *chausses* (1), which appear to have been wrought differently, for whereas the hauberk was cleaned by rolling it in a barrel, the *chausses* were rubbed (2).

Armorial
bearings.
The Seals of
Richard I.

But the *heaume* is the most interesting piece of armour of the period ; it is well illustrated at this date on the second seal

the *ventaille*, or visor, here mentioned was a piece of plate laced on to the coif to protect the face (when no *heaume* was worn) as depicted in some MSS. (*Cott. MS., Nero, D. 1, Lives of the two Offas*, STRUTT, *Manners and Customs*, Ed. 1775, Plate XLIII : *King Offa goes to assist the King of Northumberland, and overcomes the Scottish army* : Plate XLVII, *Offa the Second overcomes Beormred, the usurping King of Mercia*).

The word *heaume* was first used in English armour terminology by PLANCHÉ, and is now the usual word used to describe this type of headpiece. *Helm* is archaic and poetical. For early *heaumes* note the drawings from the frescoes of the painted chamber of the Palace of Westminster, which were painted by order of Henry III. about 1236, and destroyed in 1852.

(1) From old MS. illuminations we know that the early *chausses* were laced behind the leg and under the foot (*cf.* a drawing of XIII. cent. from WILLEMIN, *Monuments Français Inédits*, 1806, I, *planche 102, Album of Wilars de Honnecort*), and from another source we learn that they were fastened at the upper ends underneath to the hauberk (OMAN, *Art of War*, 515, *cf.* incident at battle of Bouvines, A.D. 1250). At this period, if not before, the breastplate had come in, for it is mentioned in an edict of Louis VII., of 1163 (FAVINE, *Theater of Honour*, Ed. 1623, II, p. 491), and Richard I. wore one when he tilted with Guillaume des Barres : " Boldly with ashen shaft each pierces the other's shield thro' gambeson to the very body ; the padded covering for the breast is torn. Still madly furious to wound, the twice fired iron plates (which each with wise caution wears upon his breast) resist ; and only the sharp snap of splintered lance is heard " (GUILLAUME LE BRETON, *Philippidos*, III, ll. 494-500). The old poem, *Rychard Coer de Lion*, composed from a translation of a French romance, c. 1261 (printed in WEBER, *Metrical Romances*, 1810, II, 13, ll. 241-612), describes a tournament.

The hauberk of India at this date was known : " Il (haubert) était fait d'argent et de fin or cuit, la moitié était à échecs, l'autre à quartiers ; il avait été fait en Inde . . . ; c'est là que deux ouvriers en hauberts le fabriquèrent avec art. Deux marchands l'apportèrent en France . . . Il ne pesait pas plus qu'un seul garnement, mais il était à l'épreuve des carreaux d'arbalète " (*Girart de Roussillon, chanson de geste* of the early XIII. cent., translated by PAUL MEYER, 1884, at p. 127).

(2) MEYER, *L'Hist. de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ll. 1232 et seqq.

" Haubers roller, chauces freier
Et atorner lor armeüres
Et coliers et couvertures,
Seles et freins, peitrals et cengles,
Et fors estriés et contrecengles.
Li autre lur hieaumes assaint,
Qu'al bosoign aesiez les aient.
Cil redit ; 'Mun escu me porte ;

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of Richard I., whereon he is figured in one and with flowing surcoat under his hauberk(1). By the year 1300 this head-piece had become purely a tilting-piece; for war, it was discarded for the bascinet. It was too heavy and unwieldy for the soldier, who had carried it in the field at his saddle-bow, only to put it on at the last moment, when the leader shouted "Helms on," as at the battle of Marchfeld in 1278 (2). This second seal of Richard I. (the first king of England to license tournaments in England), is also of special heraldic interest. His first seal had one lion rampant on the shield like those on that of the figure enamelled on copper in the museum at Le Mans, by some supposed to represent Geoffrey Plantagenet, who died in 1151. Such a shield Henry I. is recorded to have suspended about the neck of his son-in-law at his marriage in 1122: "*Clypeus leunculos aureos imaginarios habens collo ejus suspenditur*"(3); but on the ornament surmounting Richard's heaume on his second seal is represented a leopard(4) passant

'Ge voil que la guige seit forte
'E si vol ke l'enarmeüre
'Seit acisie a ma mesure,
'Tot isi comme ele dit estre.' "

For the armourer at work, *vide* DEMMIN, *Guide des Amateurs d'Armes*, Ed. 1879, p. 195, drawing of a miniature from the MS. of the *Enéide* of WELDEKE (c. 1300), in which the armourer is forging a heaume on his anvil, and an article by LORD DILLON (*Arch. J.* LX, 96), with reproductions of Burgmair's engraving of Maximilian & Conrad Seusenhofer from the *Weisz Kunig*, and of a miniature from *Royal MS.*, 16 G5, in the Brit. Mus. The armourer later came to occupy the same position as the most skilled of goldsmiths. The beautiful XV. cent. sculptured anvil in the British Museum should be examined. The armourer at work is exhaustively treated and illustrated in FFOULKES, *The Armourer and his Craft*.

(1) Soon worn over the hauberk, following the eastern fashion (OMAN, *Art of War*, pp. 185, 186, 511.)

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 512.

(3) *Ex Joannis Monachi Majoris-Monasterii*, printed in BOUQUET, *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, XII, p. 521.

(4) Cf. M. PARIS, anno 1235: *Misit (Imperator Fredericus) Regi (Anglorum) tres leopardos, leopardiis simillimos, quia in clypeo regis Anglorum tres leopardi figurantur.*

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guardant, the earliest record of the use of a crest on a heaume in England "a thing which had not been seen since the crested Frankish helm was superseded by the plain helm with nasal three



centuries before" (1). It is not perhaps so typical a crest as that on a pot-heaume in the XII. century German MS. of the *Eneid* of H. VON WELDEKE (2), where two knights are jousting. This same

(1) OMAN, *Art of War*, p. 513. As to the influence of tournaments and the crusades on heraldry generally, cf. MENESTRIER, *Methode du Blason*, Ed. 1770, p. 5, and *De l'Origine des Armoiries*, etc., par DE FONCEMAGNE, printed in LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, XIII, 168. MENESTRIER derives the *chevron* from the barriers of the lists: "Ainsi je finis par où j'ay commencé assurant que c'est des tournois que le blason nous est venu, et que les armoiries n'y estoient au commencement que les devises de fainctaisie, qui sont depuis devenues marques de Noblesse et des familles" (MENESTRIER, *L'Art du Blason et l'Origine des Armoiries*, Ed. 1672, p. 382).

(2) *Berlin Roy Lib.*, c. 1173. The two horns so common as crests in German heraldry were two trumpets: "Quand on avoit paru deux fois en ces Tournois solennels, qui se

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seal of Richard gives the royal arms of the three leopards passant guardant, by which it is recorded Richard was recognised "from the open jaws of the lions on his shield" (1). To capture some idea of the brilliance of the armoured knight we may turn

faisoit en Allemagne de trois en trois Ans, il n'estoit plus necessaire de faire preuve de Noblesse ayant déjà esté suffisamment reconnüe, et *blasonnée*, c'est à dire annoncée à son de trompe par les Herauts. Pour cela ils portoient deux trompes en cimier sur leurs casques de Tournoy, pour faire voir qu'ils estoient Gentilshommes reconnus, et blasonnez, et conservoient la devise qu'ils avoient portée la première fois, afin qu'on les reconnut à cette marque. C'est ainsi que les armoiries commencerent à se fixer, et c'est l'origine de tant de cimiers de deux cornets, que plusieurs Autheurs ont pris mal à propos pour les trompes d'Elephans. Dlugossius et Simon Oskolski appellent ces casques tymbrez de deux cornets, *galeas hastiludiales*, 'casques de Tournoy.' Les familles, qui les portent, sont celles dont les noms se trouvent dans les anciens Tournois" (MENESTRIER, *L'Art du Blason et l'Origine des Armoiries*, Ed. 1672, p. 156).

From the earliest times the warrior adorned his headpiece with a decoration. Pagans had similarly adorned their gods and goddesses. From the crescent are derived the *horns of honour*. From the cock's comb of the warrior is derived the *panache*. The Prince of Wales' feathers are perhaps the central panache, with the horn on either side. In the early Italian tournament the horns (trumpets) heralded the combatants; horns again adorned the helmet of the victorious knight, the defeated knight was deprived of them, and non-combatants could not wear them. Hence the Italian adage "Tornare con le trombe nel sacco o scornato." The defeated knight was deprived of the horns, *scornato* (O.F. *escorné*, Eng. *scorned*).

Cf. "Tal mi fec'io qua' son color che stanno

"Per non intender cio ch'e lor riposto

"Quasi scornati, e risponder non sanno."—DANTE, *Inferno*, C. XIX.

"Quando chicchesia ha vinto la prova, cioè sgarato un altro e fattolo rimanere o con danno o con vergogna dicono a Firenze: 'Il tale è rimasto beffato, scornato, e scornichiatto'" (VARCHI, B., *L'Ercolano, etc.*, Firenze, 1570.) SHAKESPEAR alludes to the old horns of honour:

Foresters: "Take thou no scorn to wear the horn;

"It was a crest ere thou was born:

"Thy father's father wore it,

"And thy father bore it:

"The horn, the horn, the lusty horn

"Is not a thing to laugh to scorn."—*As you like it*, IV, sc. 2.

It is curious to find in later times the representation of horns on the head and the expression "horned," as those of opprobrium. The reader is referred to F. T. ELWORTHY, *Horns of Honour*, 1900.

(1) "Ecce Comes Pictavius agro nos provocat; ecce

"Nos ad bella vocat. Rictus agnosco leonum

"Illius in clypeo. . . ." (GUILLAUME LE BRETON, *Philippidos*, Lib. III, l. 444,

et seqq. French trans. *Coll. des Memoires Relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, GUIZOT, XII, p. 83).

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to an illustration in SHAW's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, which attempts to recall the colors of the effigy of William Longuespée of 1227, at Salisbury, with its blue surcoat, the gilded hauberk and brilliant heraldic shield, for the faded coloring is still visible; or to an illumination on the MS. of the Romance of St. Graal of the beginning of the XIII. century, which portrays the meeting of two knights and their retinues to take part in a tournament (1).

*Les Tournois
de Chauvenci,
1284.*

From the date of the description of the tournaments, contained in *l'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (who died in 1219), to the account of *Les Tournois de Chauvenci* of 1284, is a long period of over 60 years, but the descriptions by MATTHEW PARIS of numerous tournaments, and the countless prohibitions of popes and kings, prove that the tournament was at the height of its popularity during the XIII. century. *Les Tournois de Chauvenci* is also written in the form of a *chanson de geste* by one JACQUES DE BRÉTÈX (2), a *trouvère*, whose patron was Henri de Blamont, one of the combatants. The

The same author alludes to the Cornish family of Arundel :

"*Ut comes erecta Guillelmum cominus hastâ*

"*Vidit hirundellæ, velocior alite quas dat*

"*Hoc agnomen ei, fert cujus in ægide signum.*" (*Ibid.*, III, ll. 464 et seqq.).

(1) *Ry. Lib.*, 14 E., III, figured in STRUTT, *Sports and Pastimes*, Ed. 1903, p. 120.

(2) DELMOTTE, *Les Tournois de Chauvenci, décrits par Jacques Brétèx*, pub. 1835. There are besides the MS. (Bibliothèque de Mons) from which the text in this book is taken, at least two others; one at Oxford (*MS. Douce*, 308); and a second in the *Bibl. Palat.*, CXVII (*cf. Roumania*, 1880, IX, 593, article by PAUL MEYER). MENESTRIER, in his *Art du Blason*, Ed. 1672, cites (p. 16) this *chanson*, and says that he saw a MS. at Brussels; another is alluded to in *Memoires de l'Institut National, Littérature et Beaux Arts*, III, 175, Pub. Paris, an. ix. Brétèx goes to the tournament fitted out in new clothes. He must have been well-known to the heralds and to the ladies of the court :

"Et la dame par cortoisie

"Me dist : 'Jacquest, venez seïr,

"De vos nouvelles viel oïr,

"Des plus belles et des miex dites.'" (ll. 3054-7).

In this Romance figures a Queen of the Tournament, who paid the *trouvère*. This

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reader will be at once struck by the change from the rough combats of PEMBROKE to the more courteous fête in which the *gay saber*, the presence of the ladies of the court, dancing (1) and minstrelsy (2) played so great a part. The young noble who wished for "les dous basiers savorens" (3) must win them in the lists, says the herald. The tournament commenced with practising at justing (4); the tourney (5) was

chanson should be compared with the *Roman de Ham du Sarasin*, to which it is "inferior" (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, XXIII, 469, 478, article by S. V. LE CLERC). The *Roman de Ham* has been printed under the title of *Analyse du Roman du Hem du Trouvère Sarasin*, edited by M. PEIGNÉ DE LA COURT (Arras), 1854, 8vo., but the volume is not in the Brit. Mus. Library. Chauvenci is situated on the left bank of the Chiers in the department of the Meuse. MENESTRIER mentions a MS. *en rimes* describing a tournament held at Huy, near Liege, in 1289 (*Art du Blason, etc.*, Ed. 1672, p. 19).

(1) DELMOTTE, *Tournois de Chauvenci*: "De ça karolent, et cis dancent" (l. 2947).

(2) *Ibid.*, 3082, 4217, 4336, 4427, etc. Minstrels were always welcomed at every kind of festivity, where they had their galleries in the castle or manor hall. All great lords had minstrels and glee singers in their pay. They accompanied kings, even when going to war; there is such a record of 1415 in the reign of Henry V.: "John Clyff, ministrall et autres xvii ministralls ount rescavez xl l. sur lour gages, a chescun de ceux XII d. le jour, pur demy quarter del An. Pur servir Seigneur le Roy en Parties de Guyen" (Rymer, Ed. 1704, IX, 260). Edward III. is recorded to have given them £100 at the marriage fête of his daughter (Jusserand, *English Waysfaring Life*, p. 196). The romances, which the minstrels in early days recited in England, were in French. Most English romances are translations or imitations. By the time of Chaucer, romances had had their day, and thenceforward minstrels' songs became more and more coarse; by the XV. century they had lost all that had made them the voice of romance, and by the end of the century minstrels had become the haunters of taverns and fairs.

In France under the name of *menestrals* were included "ceux qui jouaient des naquaires, du demi-canon, du cornet, de la guiterne latine, de la flûte behaigne, de la trompette, de la guiterne moresche, et de la vielle," all of which are mentioned in an account of the Duke of Normandy and Guyenne of 1348. There were also *farceurs*, *jongleurs* and *plaisantins*, who amused the company with jokes and comedies. Both *menestrals* and *jongleurs* were always present at all ceremonies at the King's expense, or at that of the great nobles.

Under the feudal system there was in some manors a custom entailing a service on the lord to provide days of feasting and amusement, called *dies hastiludii*, or *les jours de bouhordeis* (Du CANGE, *Des Cours et des Fêtes Solennelles des Rois de France*, *Dissertation V; Dissertation VII, Appendix II, post*, p. xviii. See also as to minstrels generally, STRUTT, *Sports and Pastimes*, Ed. 1903, III, 148-173).

(3) DELMOTTE, *Tournois de Chauvenci*, l. 1958.

(4) *Ibid.*, l. 399; "Que bachelier sont arami." *Arami*, to put to the test.

(5) The trouvère uses the words "tournoi," "melée," "cembel," for the tourney.

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the real business of the fête. The heralds arranged a careful ceremonial; even the entrance to the château was guarded by the *fis d'or tandus* (1), which the knight errant had to force. The list of the knights included some great names—Henri III. of Luxembourg, de Ligne, de Hainault, de Lalain—and to this tournament came some English from over the sea, “Cil-là sont de delà la mer, Einglois” (2). Many of their ladies looked on from their *eschaufauts* (3), listening to the heralds as they proclaimed the combatants, encouraging the knights and deciding who were to receive the prizes (4).

The Armour
of the
Knights,
1284. The
Windsor
Tourna-
ment,
1278.
The Statutes
of Arms.

We gather from this poem that lances both of *courtesy* (5) and of war were used (6) and that the lists were bounded by barriers (7). The references to the harness of the knights are interesting records of the early use of plate armour; we note *barbières* (8), *trumelières* (9) and *brasues* (10). It alludes to the use of *ventailles* (11), and we learn that the heaumes were attached

(1) *Ibid.*, l. 210.

(2) *Ibid.*, l. 365.

(3) Part of the *eschaufaut* was called the *berfroid*, and was reserved for the most distinguished.

(4) As to the proclamation of the winner of a tournament, cf. the letter of Philippe le Bel (WALPOLE, *Misc. Antiq.*, Ed. 1772, p. 3).

(5) DELMOTTE, *Tournois de Chauvenci*, l. 1954 : “Lances enrochies.”

(6) *Ibid.*, l. 3802 : “Bastons de fer aguissiez.”

(7) *Ibid.*, l. 2022 : “Lors véissiez ces rens estandre,
“Et fremir ceux qui sont entour.”

(8) *Ibid.*, l. 614 *et seqq.* : “Si que chascuns féri en gorge,
“As fers qui sont de bone forge ;
“Abatent hyaumes et barbières,
l. 1904 : “Hiaumes, barbières et lorriaus.”

(9) *i.e.*, jambs.

(10) *i.e.*, vambraces.

(11) *i.e.*, vizors, ll. 641, 2198, 3503.

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by chains (1). The date of the Chauvenci fête is only six years later than that of the Windsor tournament, in which one of the 38 knights, who had taken part in it, was the crusader Roger de Trumpington, whose brass of 1289 is one of the earliest and best specimens in existence. In this brass the chain of the heaume (2) attached to the girdle, the heraldic *ailettes*, the plate *poleyns* (the knee defences) are to be particularly noticed. Of the Windsor

(1) l. 3543: "Chascuns son hiaume en sa chaaine."

Other allusions to the armour are:

(a) *Alerons*: "Creste sur hiaume assez mignote,
Houce, escu et alerons,
Autre tex fu ses auquetons"

(ll. 3208-10).

The first record in England of *alerons* (*ailettes*) is in an inventory of 1272, of Edward I. They disappeared by 1325. They were of all shapes, and generally heraldic. For tournaments they were sometimes jewelled. They protected the neck and the shoulders, and were attached by laces (*cf. Empciones facte . . . contra Torniaementum de Parcode Windes', etc., Archeologia, XVII, 297: D. Eodem. . . laqueos seriū p. alett p'c duodecim VIII d.*), which are seen in a XIV. cent. miniature in a MS. of *Lancelot du Lac* (Bib. Nat. Paris, FFOULKES, *Armour and Weapons*, p. 35). *Ailettes* are well illustrated in the miniatures of *Queen Mary's Psalter* (Reproduced by Brit. Mus. 1913), which should be examined for the armour of the period (*cf. especially No. 233, St. Mercurius being roused from sleep by the Virgin, who is holding his hauberck*). *Ailettes, escus au col*, are mentioned in the *Ordonnance on duels* of Philippe le Bel, of 1306 (LA COLOMBIERE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'honneur*, II, 30).

(b) *Chapiau de fer*, l. 3523.

(c) *Lance sour sautre*, l. 792.

(d) *Wagnepan*, tournament sword, l. 3804.

(2) Note the attachment at the apex of the heaume for the *cointise* or "kerchief of Plesaunce," the scarf of the knight's lady. It was superseded by the wreath, and afterwards by the lambrequin (MEYRICK, *Antient Armour*, I, 105, 140 and II, 35, 47, 145).



Brass of Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289, in Trumpington Ch., near Cambridge.

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tournament held in 1278 there is in existence a MS. giving the lists of purchases made for it entitled: *Empciones facte p. manum Adinetti Cissoṛ et Visu Albini et Rob'ti de Dorset contra torniamentum de Parco de Windesore nono die Julii Anno Sexto*(1). Not more than 17 years later is the date assigned to the *Statutes of Arms*(2) which enumerates the arms and armour to be used for the tournament, provides for the discipline to be maintained in the lists, and makes provision against some of the abuses which had sprung up (3).

The Church
and tourna-
ments.

The popularity of the tournament was jealously regarded both by the Church and Sovereigns. The opposition of the former may perhaps be partly explained by the increasing

(1) *Archeologia* XVII, 297. The provision of armour (*hernesium de armis*) for the tournament included tunic, surcoat, ailettes, crests for heaume and horse, shield of wood, heaumes of cuir-bouilli, sword of balon. The armour was leather gilt. There were 8 dozen silken cords supplied for tying the ailettes. In *Archeologia* XX, 510, is printed from the *Harl. MS.* 6149, fo. 46, a description (of about the same period) of "how a knyght suld be armyt and tournay. *Fyrist* a harness of gampes corvet w^t ledd^r, and sowet w^t poⁿtes the bouth of a gambe to ye kne, and ii attaches larges for to atach y^m in to his brayer. *It^m* cuisses and poulanis armyt w^t ledd^r. *It^m* hosn of mail above the harnes of gambes, atached to ye brayer as said is, above the cuisses. And a payr of gylt spurs quihiche salbe knet w^t a small cord above the gambes, because ye spur turn not und^r ye fute. *Item* une aktione et unes espaullieres. *It^m* paura de Manches qthe salbe knete to ye curie, and ye curie w^t all his aggrappes sus les espaulles, et une soureilleur apone ye foit befor. *Item* bratheres knet to ye shuldre of the cuyrie. *Item* basynet a tout le housson, and an escusson of bralayn apone the nek corvit w^t ledd^r w^t the coureres for to knete to ye brayer or ye cuyrie. And apun ye basynet a coife of mail, and a fair offroy befor on ye front qu'ha will, and a wyn brod to put in ye knyght's hande. *Item* a heaume and ye tymbre sic as he will. *Item* ii thengeis knet to the brest of ye curie, one for the suord and the toy^r for the bastone, and ii visiones for to festyn the heaume."

(2) Historians have fixed the date not later than 1295, because among other reasons, the Earl of Gloucester died in that year; William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, died in 1296, and was the last of that name; Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, died in 1296, all of whom are mentioned in the Statute. The Statute is printed in *Appendix III*, *post*, p. xxiii; cf. also *Archæologia*, XVII, 298, n.

(3) For descriptions of tournaments immediately following this period, cf. LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, Ed. 1648, I, p. 222, where short accounts and quotations from authorities are given of tournaments held in 1309, at the marriage of Isabel of France and Edward II. at Boulogne, and in 1318 at Cahors, Quercy.

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danger of tournaments in the XII. and XIII. centuries. In 1130 at the synod at Clermont under Innocent II. the ix. *Canon* prohibits them (1), which was confirmed by the second Lateran Council in 1139(2). Again in 1148(3) they are prohibited by Eugenius III., a prohibition again confirmed in 1179 by Innocent III. at the third Lateran Council in the xx. *Canon*: *Felicitis memoriae papae Innocentii et Eugenii praedecessorum nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes, detestabiles illas nundinas vel ferias, quas vulgo torneamenta vocant, in quibus milites ex condicto venire solent, et ad ostentationem virium suarum et audaciae temere congregiuntur, unde mortes hominum et animarum pericula saepe proveniunt, fieri prohibemus. Quod si quis eorum ibidem mortuus fuerit quamvis ei poscenti venia non negetur: ecclesiastica tamen careat sepultura* (4). Honorius III. in 1227 prohibits priests from attending tournaments(5); Innocent IV. repeats the prohibitions of his predecessors, and constant are the attempts of succeeding popes and their legates to suppress them(6). Perhaps, too, the nights

(1) HÉFÈLE, *Hist. des Conciles* (Ed. 1872), VII, 209: "Les tournois sont défendus, parcequ'ils coûtent souvent la vie à des hommes. Si quelqu'un est blessé à mort dans un jeu de cette nature, on ne lui refusera pas la pénitence et le viatique, mais il ne pourra avoir la sépulture ecclésiastique." Thus it came about that the monks' miniatures to their MS. chronicles figure the devil ready to snatch the body of the knight killed at the tourney (MS. Roy. 19, C1, reproduced in GREEN, *Hist. of the Eng. People*, I, 457).

(2) HÉFÈLE, *Hist. des Conciles* (Ed. 1872), VII, 239, *Canon* xiv.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, 308, at Rheims, *Canon* xii: "les tournois sont défendus."

(4) *Ibid.*, VII, 507. In 1213 Innocent III. again prohibited them at the fourth Lateran Council, "*Expediit pro recuperanda Terra Sancta*" (*Ibid.*, VIII, 157).

(5) *Ibid.*, VIII, 202.

(6) *Torneamenta . . . sub poena excommunicationis firmiter inhibemus usque ad triennium exerceri* (the 13th Council at Lyons, anno 1245, *Ibid.*, VIII, 370). Nicholas III. in 1279 reproves Cardinal Simon de St. Cécile for having allowed tournaments (LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Vie de St. Louis*, Edited by J. DE GAULLE, V, 250) which were probably those sung in the *Roman de Ham* of 1278. In 1192 Celestin III. orders the bishops and King of England to forbid tournaments, *terrae sanctae infelici statu* (Rymer, Ed. 1816, I, 56), in

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of feasting, following the combat, caught much of the mediæval licence of the time, *lubrica facta sunt*, adds an old chronicler with humour, when he ends his description of a great fête(1).

Sovereigns
and
tournaments.

If the Church thundered against this all-absorbing sport of the time, so did kings when it suited them to do so. Sometimes it was found convenient to make the powerful noble less the hero, less the central figure of a great display, or perhaps war was less popular than tourneying, or again it might not be desirable that the foreign knights should be defeated and ill-feeling aroused ; under these circumstances the tournament was

consequence of which Richard issued his edict (*post*, p. 42). In 1220 the papal legate, Pandulf, forbids tournaments under pain of forfeiture of goods and of excommunication (*Rymer*, Ed. 1816, I, 162). In 1228 a papal bull orders the bishop of Norwich and others to excommunicate all who tourney, as in so doing they are merely making "pretence for conspiracies" (*Rymer*, Ed. 1816, R. 1, 189). In 1313 we read of Clement V. issuing a decree that the orders against tournaments apply to *Justas . . . quæ tabulae rotundæ in aliquibus partibus, vulgariter nuncupantur*" (R. DE KELLAWE, *Rolls Ser.*, I, 495).

(1) As an illustration of this point, there is in the Vatican an old MS. of the XIII. century of the *Storia universale sacra e profana*, in which is a miniature of a tournament. The knights are fighting in the tourney, beauty is urging the knights to great deeds, and the miniature plainly indicates the prize to be won by the bravest (G. FERRARIO, *Storia ed analisi degli antichi Romanzi di Cavalleria con dissertazioni sul tornei, sulle giostre* II, p. 110, Plate XX).

GREEN, *Hist. of the English People*, I, 456, quotes a chronicler *temp.* Ed. III : "In those days arose a great rumour and clamour among the people, that whenever there was a tournament there came a great concourse of ladies of the most costly and beautiful, but not of the best of the kingdom, sometimes forty or fifty in number, as if they were a part of the tournament, in diverse and wonderful male apparel, in parti-coloured tunics, with short caps and bands wound cordwise round their heads, and girdles bound with gold and silver, and daggers in pouches across their body ; and then they proceeded on chosen coursers to the place of tourney, and so expended and wasted their goods and vexed their bodies with scurrilous wantonness that the murmurs of the people sounded everywhere ; but they neither feared God nor blushed at the chaste voice of the people." A reproduction of a miniature (MS. Roy. 19, C1, Brit. Mus.) shows the arrival of courtesans in male attire riding with lances and shields on horses richly caparisoned. Cf. also the account of a tournament in 1389 (St. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie*, Ed. 1759, II, 68).

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prohibited(1). The terms of the usual prohibition were not to *turneare, burdeare, justas facere, a'venturas quaerere, sive aliqua facta armorum exercere.*

William the Conqueror had for political reasons prohibited the introduction of the tournament into England. The evidence seems to point to the reign of Stephen (1135-1154) as being the period when they were really first practised to any degree in this country(2). Henry II., his successor, was opposed to

The introduction of the tournament into England. The edict of Richard I.

(1) Reference to RYMER, *Foedera*, furnishes a very considerable number of royal prohibitions. Forty-one are issued between 1272 and 1348, sometimes general to the whole kingdom, sometimes applicable only to a certain town (Shirburn *anno* 1234; Dunstable *anno* 1264) or district (Bishoprick of Durham *anno* 1319). Occasionally a reason is given, "because Prince Edward is in great danger in Gascony" (*anno* 1255), or "because the king is absent in Scotland" (*anno* 1311), or "until the truce with Spain has expired (1336). Sometimes the prohibition makes a reservation, as "except by permission" (*anno* 1363), or "except Norwich" (*anno* 1341), or without *licencia speciale* (*anno* 1299). Cf. also C. & M. *Hen. III.*, *Ed. II.*, and *Ed. III.*, in which numerous allusions occur. Orders were also issued to arrest knights attending tournaments, or intending to attend them (see RYMER, *annis* 1305, 1313, 1314, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1322, etc.) or to confiscate lands and goods of knights going abroad to tourney without licence. In France, Philippe does the same thing. Cf. also M. PARIS, *anno* 1241, when the king forbids the *torneamentum quasi hostile* proposed by Peter of Savoy, Earl of Richmond, against Earl Roger Bigod, that the foreigners might *qui eorum in hastiludiali certamine strenuiores viderentur* (*Chr. Maj.* IV, 88): *anno*, 1247, the king again forbids the tournament proposed by Guy de Lusignan, son of the Comte de la Marche, with Richard, Earl of Gloucester (*Ibid.*, IV, 633). In the same year Richard, Earl of Gloucester, challenges his brother William to a tournament, *ut ibidem memoratus W. cum suis contironibus militiae peritiam et addiceret et experiretur*, when the king again issues his prohibition (*Ibid.*, IV, 649).

(2) LAMBARDE, at the close of the XVI. century wrote: "This manner of exercise, being then used, not at the tilt (as I thinke) but at *Randon*, and in the open field, was accounted so daungerous to the persons having to do therein, that sundry popes had forbidden it by decree, and the kings of this realme (before king Stephen) would not suffer it to be frequented within their land: so that such as for exercise of that seate of armes were desirous to prove themselves, were driven to passe over the seas and to performe it in some indifferent place in a foreigne countrie. But afterwarde, king Stephen in his time permitted it: and then after him king Richard the first not onely allowed it, but also encouraged his nobilitie to use it: and so by litle and litle, the danger being sufficiently provided for, and the men waring expert, it grewe in the time of the kings that followed (especially in the reign of this Edward the third) to a most pleasant, usuall, and familiar pastime" (*A Perambulation of Kent*, Ed. 1596, p. 448).

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them(1), but his sons, as we know from Guillaume le Maréchal, were great lovers of the sport(2). It was to meet the difficulty of the papal prohibitions that Richard I., in 1195 (3), issued his edict limiting tournaments to certain places: *In Anglia torneamenta primum coeperunt Rege Ricardo* is often quoted by the old historians, one of whom explains Richard's reasons for supporting the sport: *Considerans igitur illustris Rex Richardus Gallos in conflictibus tanto esse acriores, quanto exercitiores atque instructiores, sui quoque regni milites in propriis finibus exerceri voluit, ut ex bellorum solemnium praeludio, verorum addiscerent artem usumque bellorum, nec insultarent Galli Anglis militibus*

(1) WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, Ed. 1719, II, 501.

(2) *Ante*, p. 28. Henry, the elder son, on one occasion in France, gave the signal for the grand mêlée, when 3,000 English and French knights were gathered from all parts for a tournament. (*William of Newburgh*, cited in BATESON, *Mediæval England*, p. 164).

(3) "Richard, by the Grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou, to the reverend father in Christ, Hubert, archbishop of Canturburie, and primat of all England, sendeth greeting, Know ye that we have granted turnaments to be kept in England in five steeds, to wit, betwixt Salisburie and Wilton, betwixt Warwike and Kenelworth, betwixt Stanford and Warmeford, betwixt Brackley and Nixburgh, betwixt Blie and Tickhill, so that the peace of our land be not broken, nor yet our justices authoritie diminished, nor any damage doone to our forrests. Provided that what erle soever will turney there, shall give to us twentie marks, a baron ten marks, a knight that hath lands foure marks, and he that hath no lands shall give two marks. Moreover, no stranger shall be admitted to turney there. Whereupon we command you, that at the daie of turnieng, ye have there two clarkes, and two of our knights to receive the oth of the earles and barons, which shall satisfie us of the said summes of monie, before the turnieng begin, and that they suffer none to turney, till they have made paiement, and have caused to be entred how much and of whom they have received: and ye shall take ten marks for this charter to our use, whereof the earle of Salisburie, and the earle of Clare, and the earle of Warren are pledges.

Witnessse myselfe at Ville Lewesche the two and twentieth of August, 1194.

This charter is printed in *Holinshead* (Ed. 1807) II, 253; It occurs in *Harl. MS.* 69, "*The Boke of certayne Triumphes*." In the *Stowe MS.* 568, is mentioned "The forme of writt sent by Richard I. to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the granting of tourneys, etc.," and "the orders to be observed by the tilters aforesaid." STRUTT (*Sports and Pastimes*, Ed. 1903, p. 118), notes that Smithfield should be included among the places named.

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tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris (1). It was at this time that Gerald of Wales lamented that martial exercises had sent literary pursuits out of vogue(2). Edward I., too, was a great juster. He was present, two years after his accession, in 1273, at the great Châlons tournament, described by a chronicler as *non torneamentum sed parvum bellum Chalonii*. Although reference has been made to the royal prohibitions at this period, there is ample evidence, during the reigns of Edward I., II., and III., at times, of royal support. In 1318 the king pardons a knight for having killed his antagonist in a tournament at Luton(3). In 1344, Edward III. grants a perpetual licence to the city of Lincoln, *de licenciâ justas apud Lincoln', singulis annis in perpetuum faciendi for hastiludia sive justas*; the reason given is *solatium virorum militarium et usum armorum*, and the licence applies to times of war and peace, *tam pacis quam guerrae temporibus*(4). In that year he appoints the Earl of Derby to be *Capitaneus* of a tournament(5), and issues a safe conduct to foreign knights to attend. From *Fabyan's Chronicle* we learn that in 1343 he "sufferyd to be exercysed certeyne poyntis and featis of warre, as justys turnamentys and other"(6), and LAMBARDE

(1) WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, Ed. 1719, II, 502 (Lib. V, Cap. IV); cf. also MATTHEW PARIS, *Chr. Maj.*, Rolls Ed., II, 407: *ut milites regni undique concurrentes vires suas flexis ingirum frenis experirentur; ut si bellum adversus Crucis inimicos vel etiam finitimos movere decreverint, agiliores ad prælium et exercitatiores redderentur*.

(2) BATESON, *Mediaeval England*, p. 164.

(3) RYMER, *Foedera*, Ed. 1818, II, Pt. 1, 358: *Per quas quidem justas dictus Willielmus Melkysp dictum Willielmum de Ponton interfecit*.

(4) *Ibid.*, III, Pt. 1, 5.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) Ed. 1811, p. 454. In 1359 RYMER prints a warrant to John, Duke of Brittany, for the expenses of a tournament at Smithfield (Ed. 1818, III, Pt. 1, p. 421).

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mentions the proclamation of a "general tournament (or justes) to be holden at Dartforde" in 1331(1).

The danger
of the
Tourna-
ment.

It has already been noticed that the reason the Church assigned for prohibiting tournaments was their danger(2). The tournament most often quoted as an example of this danger is that of Nuys, near Cologne, in 1240, where "soixante tant chevaliers qu'écuyers perdirent la vie, la plupart suffoqués par la pouissière"(3). LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT records the deaths of Florent, Comte de Hollande, in 1234, and of his brother, in 1241(4). FAVINE tells of a tournament in 1129 at Mont St. Michel, held in honour of the marriage of Geoffrey d'Anjou with Maud, the widow of Henry V. of Germany(5); relating how the fête commenced with a tourney which he calls a "pelle-melle," he says: "the ash-tree-launces flew in shivers, and every man being well warmed in their Armours came to handy-strokes with their swords," and how on a later day, when the Normans introduced a giant to fight, Geoffrey Plantaganet attacked him and "smote off his head"(6). In 1216 MATTHEW PARIS records either death or life-long injury in the cases of Lord Essex in 1216(7), Earl Bigod(8), Arnold de

(1) *Perambulation of Kent*, Ed. 1596, p. 448.

(2) *Ante*, p. 38.

(3) *Chronique d'Albéric*, cited by ST. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie*, I, 236, II, 75; LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, etc., XIII, 23.

(4) LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Vie de St. Louis*, Ed. by J. DE GAULLE, pub. 1847, II, 235-6.

(5) FAVINE, *Theater of Honour and Knighthood*, Ed. 1623, II, p. 487.

(6) This tournament is described in *Ex Joannis Monachi Majoris-Monasterii, Historia Gaufredi Ducis Normannorum*, Book I (Ed. by BOUQUET, *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, XII, 521, et seqq.).

(7) *Eodem tempore exierunt ad urbe Londoniarum barones cum militibus qui nuper de regno Francorum advenerant ad equestrem ludum, quod hastiludium vel torneamentum dicitur, cum hastis tantum et lineis armaturis.* At this tournament Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, died, in dolorem et querimoniam multorum moriens condonavit (*Chr. Maj.*, Rolls Ed., II, 650).

(8) *Nunquam postea plenae sanitati restituebantur* (*Chr. Maj.*, Rolls Ed., V, 609).

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Montigny in 1352(1), and of William Longuespée in 1256(2). LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT records the death of the Comte de Clermont, brother of Philippe le Hardi, who in spite of his previous prohibitions against tournaments allowed one to be held in 1279(3). MATTHEW PARIS speaks of the ill feeling aroused at the Rochester Tournament(4) in 1151, and two hundred years later the same tale is told in the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*(5). FROISSART at this date has also many a story to tell of the ferocity of the sport, resulting in the deaths of many knights who practised it(6), but even a warrior like Philippe Auguste saw danger in tournaments fought with such bitterness, and he ended by making his sons take their oaths not to take part in them.

(1) *Ibid.*, V, 318.

(2) *Et circa Pentecosten, apud Blie commissum est hastiludium prospere et generaliter, secundum legem et disciplinam militarem; ubi Edwardus domini regis primogenitus in lineis et levibus, ut militariis legibus informetur, fuerat armaturis. Ibi multi nobiles, dum conarentur laudem militiae promereri, prostati, verberati, et contriti concubantur. Quorum unus fuit Willelmus Longa-Spata, qui nunquam postea restaurabatur* (*Ibid.*, V, 557).

(3) LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Vie de Saint Louis*, edited by J. DE GAULLE, 1849, V, 250. Cf. also LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vrai Théâtre d'Honneur*, Ed. 1648, I, 255, citing G. de Nangis, *Moine de St. Denis*. Many other deaths of great nobles are recorded (*Ibid.*, I, Chap. XVII).

(4) *Et eodem tempore apud Rosam factum est torneamentum subdolum et aculeatum inter Anglos, quos alienigenae jam deridentes contempserant, et ipsos alienos. In quo contriti sunt turpiter alienigenae, dissipati et affugati, ita ut probosc fugientes ad civitatem gratia refugii armigeris obviam irruentibus iterum recepti, prostrati, spoliati, et egregie baculis et clavis palluerunt malleati. Et insequentibus milites cum supra dorsa eorum fabricassent, ad votum ditati triumpharunt. Et sic ictus, quos injuriose in torneamento receperant, multiplicato foenere reddiderunt. Crevit igitur ira et odium inter Anglos et alienigenas, et diatim successive formidabile suscepit incrementum.* (MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Anglorum*, III, 116).

(5) Ed. 1868, III, 49 (anno 1341): *Ex quo ludo multi nobiles milites Angliae interierunt, et nonnulli diversis membris sunt perpetuo mutilati.*

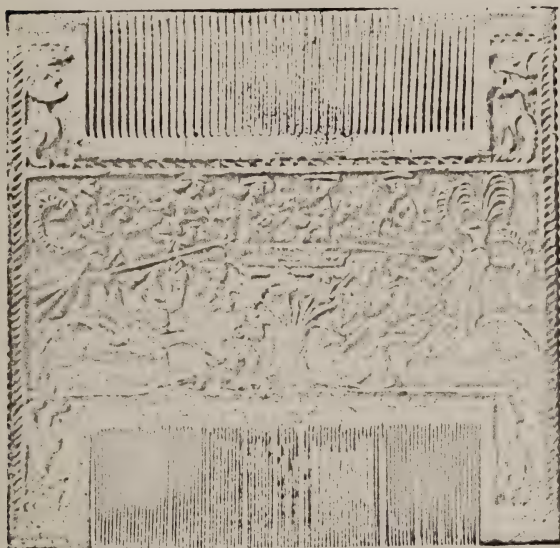
(6) Cf. the death of Johan Boucinell in a just with Nycholas Clyfforde in 1381 (HENLEY, *Tudor translation*, III, 190). Fierce tourneys with arms of war lasted as late as 1414. In that year we read of one between the French and Portuguese (St. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie*, I, 261). DU CANGE gives the challenge of the Duc de Bourbon in the same year to a tourney, quoting from the *Mémoires de M. de Peiresc* (*Appendix II*, post, p. xiii).

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Tournaments *à outrance* and *à plaisance*.

One way out of the difficulty was to differentiate between different kinds of combat. As has already been noticed, all tournaments, even in the time of William the Marshal(1), were not fought with arms of war. In the justing preceding the tourney, which was then considered as practice for the great *mêlée*, the knights tilted with lances of courtesy only, but in the tourneys, which followed, both arms of war and of courtesy were used.

Wooden comb with figures in gesso, early XV. cent., showing the three pointed iron head of the lance of courtesy.



The lance of courtesy differed from that used in war in having at its head, instead of a sharp point, a three-pointed iron head or *cronel*(2). A tournament or a just with arms of war came to be known as *à outrance*, and with arms of courtesy as *à plaisance* (3). The just now began to be the more popular sport with the knight,

because it enabled him to display his prowess more conspicuously

(1) *Ante*, p. 39.

(2) In the arms of SHAKESPEARE, granted by Dethick to the father of the dramatist in 1546, we have "Or, on a bend *sable*, a tilting spear of the field headed *argent*." The arms admitted in 1671, as those of one Richard Wiseman have 3 *cronels* "he beareth *sable* a chevron *ermine* between 3 *cronels* of a Tilt-spear *Argent*, by the name of *Wiseman*" (cf. GUILLIM, *A Display of Heraldry*, I, 340, who illustrates the tilting lance, and speaks of the "*burr* or ring of iron behind the hand, which *burr* is brought unto the rest, when the tilter chargeth his Spear or Staff").

(3) To use a sharp lance when a knight was supposed to be tilting with a rebated one rendered him liable to be accused of murder:—"In this year (1252) the knights to prove their skill and grit in military games proclaimed that they would try their strength not in the

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than in the tourney. Some confusion of terms arose among the writers of the time, who used the expression *just à outrance* to include what was a *gaige de bataille* or wager of battle, the early form of duel dealt with in a subsequent chapter. What the tourney *à plaisance* was to war, the *just à plaisance* was to the duel. But the king, his court, and his knights, often wanted something a little less tame than the *just à plaisance*, and so they introduced what MATTHEW PARIS calls the *torneamentum quasi hostile*, which was a just for sport with weapons of war.

The application of the term *just à outrance* to the *torneamentum quasi hostile* is often made by writers, but it is inaccurate, for this latter form of just was always included in *justs à plaisance* or "justs of pece," to use the English term of the time of Edward IV. It was a very popular form of combat in the XIII., XIV., and XV. centuries, and always fought under special conditions, one of which was that it could be stopped at any moment, for it was never fought out until one of the combatants was either killed or disabled. No doubt personal quarrels were often settled by this manner of contest, and in that sense it may be said to have had some relation to the duel. Such a case of a personal quarrel is well illustrated in an account of a combat, which took place in 1390 in the presence of Richard II., between Sir William Dalzell, who was attending Sir David de Lindsay on a visit in

*Tornea-
mentum
quasi hostile.*

sport commonly called a tournament, but in that military sport called the *Round Table* On the fourth day came two knights of great renown, Arnold de Montigny and Roger de Lemburn. Roger aimed his weapon, the point of which was not blunted, as it ought to have been, in such a way that it entered below the helmet of Arnold, and pierced his trachea and severed the arteries. Roger was so grieved that *pro liberatione animae ejus cruce se signavit peregrinaturus.*" As it appeared that Montigny's death was due to an accident there was no question of murder; but Montigny's friends extracted a pointed lance-head. On the strength of this evidence Roger became "an object of suspicion and was bitterly reproached particularly as the said Arnold had, in a previous tournament, broken this Roger de Lemburn's leg" (MATTHEW PARIS, *Ch. Maj.*, V, 318).

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London, and Sir Piers Courtenay. It arose thus: at Court, Sir Piers Courtenay was wearing a magnificent mantle upon which was embroidered, as a device, a falcon with these words :—

“ I beare a falcon, fairest of flight,
 “ Whoso pinches at her, his death is dight.
 “ In graith.”(1)

Lindsay the next day appeared similarly attired, but on his mantle was embroidered a magpie with this motto :—

“ I beare a pie picking at a peice,
 “ Who so picks at her, I shall pick at his nese.
 “ In faith.”(2)

Such an affront could only be wiped out by the *torneamentum quasi hostile*.

The intro-
 duction of
 plate
 armour.

The armour which the knight wore is of interest in the history of the tournament, for two reasons. In the first place the pageantry of the fête can only be imagined by picturing the knights; in the second place the developments of armour are as much connected with the tournament as with war. The

- (1) “ E’en such a falcon, on his shield,
 Soar’d sable on an azure field :
 The golden legend bore aright,
 Who checks at me, to death is dight.” (*Marmion*, I, 6).

- (2) MEYRICK, *Antient Armour*, II, 54.

The last real just took place in the XVIII. century. Sir John Dallas, G.C.B., then Captain Dallas, and serving under Sir Eyre Coote, was in the habit of meeting “all comers,” as Coote marched his army against Hyder Ali. On one occasion he had a bout with a Mussulman, who cut Dallas’ reins. When it was discovered that the Mussulman were of chain, a spirit of chivalry was aroused, and Dallas’ servant shot the Mussulman on the spot. The incident recalls a similar one in JOINVILLE, when a Saracen called to John le Grand, a crusader, “that he would joust with him, if that were his pleasure.” Each army halted and the just took place.

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wearing of plate armour was now rapidly coming into fashion(1), at first over the mail, to protect certain parts of the body, and gradually to replace the mail. This is well illustrated in the two brasses of 1277 and 1327 of the Sir John d'Aubernons, father and son, in the church of Stoke d'Auberon, in Surrey.

In illustration of the statement that the tournament influenced the development of armour, apart from its use in war, we read in an old indenture of 1361 (2), of "brustplate pur Justes," and the will of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, executed in 1369, mentions a special bequest of "my whole suit of armour for the justs with my coat of mail and sword"(3); again, a bequest by Lord Bergavenny is mentioned in his will, dated 1408,

Early
mention
of special
armour for
the just.

(1) Plate had developed more quickly on the continent. At the battle of Benevento, in 1265, the French, who had no such armour, stabbed the Germans, who were *armez de doubles armeures (duplici tegmine loricati)*, in the *vif du harnois*, with their *petites espees . . . dessous les esselles, ou li Alemans estoient plus legierement armé* (GUILLAUME DE NANGIS, *Vie de Saint Louis*, Ed. BOUQUET, XX, 425).

(2) *Arch. J.*, XI, 384.

(3) NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, pub. 1862, at p. 77. Armour was greatly prized by its owners, as we see by many wills. In *Royal Wills* by J.N. pub. 1780 (at p. 181), Eleanor Bohun, wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, 7th son of Ed. III., leaves: "Item, un habergeon ove un crois de laton merchie sur le pis encontre le cuer, quele feust a mon seignour son pere." Again Edmund, Duke of York, and grandson of Edward III., who was killed at Agincourt, devises: "ma petite cote de maille, le piece de plate qe Mons. Seignour le prince ma donna appelle Brestplate, le pance qe fuist a mon Seignour mon pere qe Dieu assoill, mon housell et mon chaperon de fere. Item je devise a Thomas Beauchamp mes brigandiers coverrez de rouge velvet chequete noir et blank, etc. Item je devise a Johan Popham mesnouvelles brigandiers. mon basinet qe je port" (p. 221). In NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, we read that Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1315 bequeaths "to Thomas, my son, my best coat of mail, helmet and suit of harness to John, my son, my second coat of mail, helmet, and harness" (p. 54). This same coat of mail Thomas, the son, bequeaths by his will of 1369: "the coat of mail, sometime belonging to that famous Guy Warwick" (p. 79); and the grandson in his will of 1400 again mentions the coat of mail of Guy of Warwick (p. 154). By his will of 1368 Sir Michael de Poynings leaves "all my armour which my father left me." In 1371 the Earl of Oxford mentions his coat of mail, "new helmet," and a "pair of gauntlets" (pp. 73, 78). The Earl of Stafford, by his will of 1385, devises to "Thomas, my son, my coat of mail d'Astere of Naples and my helmet made at Bordeaux, with a camail d'Astere, also my sword made at Turenne" (p. 119). Sir P. D'Arcy mentions in his will of 1398 his "coat of mail of Milan"

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to his son Richard "my best sword and harness for the justs of peace which belonged to war"(1). Armour, too, was the object of royal gifts, as we learn from the recently discovered account books of the Black Prince.

The Ivories depicting the tournament of the XV. century.

For actual scenes of the tournament of this period, apart from the miniatures of MSS.(2), we may turn to the ivories of the XIV. century illustrating the old romances, generally in the form of caskets and mirrors, occasionally on combs or saddles, and of which most museums possess many examples. In the Louvre is a *troussequin de selle aux armes d'Aragon* (3), on which are engraved knights, armed with rebated lances; but, perhaps, one of the most beautiful pieces is a late mirror case at the Wallace collection of the early years of the XV. century (4). The artist turned readily to the knight in armour for inspiration of form, even moulding the bronze ewer to this model (5).

(p. 146). In 1426 the Duke of Exeter makes a bequest of his "complete suit of armour" (p. 210), and in 1449 Walter, Lord Hungerford, devises "my best pair of cuirasses with all belonging thereto out of the armoury at Farley, Hungerford" (p. 258).

Widows looked upon their husbands' armour with great respect. Matilda Clitherow in 1457 devises the "whole suit of armour of my late husband" (p. 289). The bequests of armour by will long continued, and it is evident that the armour for retainers out of the armoury was often specially bequeathed. In 1415 the will of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, mentions "20 Breastplates, 20 helmets, 20 lances, 20 coats of mail" (p. 190). In 1526 Lord Willoughby d'Eresby mentions a bequest of "10 Almaine Rivetts" (p. 622), and Lord Berners in 1532 makes a gift of "6 pair of Almain Rivetts with splints, sallets and all things thereto belonging" (p. 658). Sometimes there is an instruction in the will that the helmet should be placed on the coffin at the funeral (will of Lord Burghersh of 1369, at p. 77), or my "helmet and sword, my coat armour, my banner, my standard, my pendant" should be used at the funeral (Sir D. Owen, 1529, at p. 700), in which cases perhaps the armour was often left in the churches.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 172.

(2) Cf. the two miniatures of the XIII. century, reproduced in STRUTT, *Sports and Pastimes*, at pp. 120, 126.

(3) Figured in E. MOLINIER, *Les Ivoires*, p. 192.

(4) After preparing this photograph, I hear its genuineness is doubtful.

(5) *Brit. Mus. Guide Book (Mediæval)*, Ed. 1907, fig. 153.

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The earliest examples of real plate armour in existence date from the third quarter of the XIV. century. In Canterbury Cathedral, over the tomb of the Black Prince, are suspended some pieces of his armour(1). There hang his tilting heaume (for

The tilting
heaume of
the Black
Prince.



Ivory Mirror
case in the
Wallace
Collection.

we know he wore at the battle of Crécy a bascinet with crown, set with the “ruby” still preserved in the Crown jewels), the Cap of Maintenance and his crest in cuir-bouilli :—

That casque which never stopped except to time.

And below are suspended his gauntlets, jupon, sword-scabbard,

(1) The earliest printed record of these is contained in BOLTON, *The Elements of Armories*, 1610, at p. 66.

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part of the belt, with its buckle, and a shield(1). The effigy gives the now complete harness of plate armour. He wears the bascinet, his head resting on his tilting-heaume with leopard crest, sculptured according to the terms of the will :—"ove notre heaume du leopard mys dessous la teste de l'ymage"(2). In old St. Paul's on the monument erected to John of Gaunt, the brother of the Black Prince, "hung his proper Helmet, and spoure, as also his Target covered with Horn"(3). They are illustrated in DUGDALE, *History of St. Paul's*(4), and we note the curious shield with bouche (the lance rest). Across the tomb hung the lance

(1) The heaume is 14 in. high and weighs seven pounds two ounces. It is made of three pieces. Every other rivet encircling the heaume has a washer which secured the leather cap inside, of which fragments still remain.

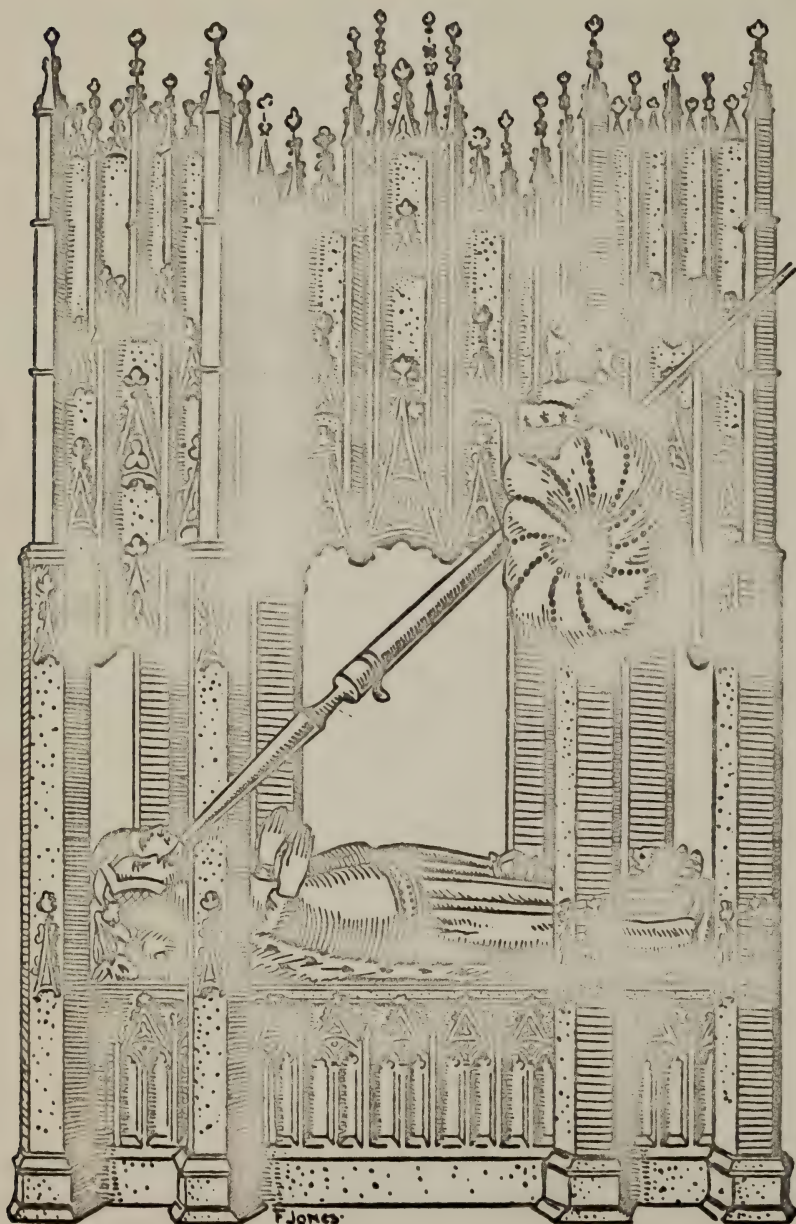
The crest and the Cap of Maintenance are made of leather, and inside the latter are the remains of the original red velvet. Crest and cap weigh 4 lbs. 5 oz. On each knuckle of the gauntlets there was once rivetted a small lion statant guardant. The Royal Soc. of Ant. possesses a MS. of about the end of the XVI. century, or beginning of the XVII. century, which contains a drawing of the tomb and the achievements. In the opinion of some antiquaries all the armour is "that made for and used only at the funeral." The heaume is thin, the gold thread used is inferior, the gauntlets are light (*Vetusta Monumenta, The Achievements of Edward, Prince of Wales, in the Cathedral Ch. of Canterbury*, Vol. VII, Pt. II, by W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.). The sword (said to have been taken away by Cromwell), the dagger and pavis have disappeared. The heaume with crest is figured in *The Remembrance of Shakespeare's England*, 1912. The only other specimens of crests (other than funeral crests), are said to be those in Krelingen Church, in Germany (*Archaeologia*, LVII, Pt. I, 34. LORD DILLON, quoting HEFNER-ALTENECK, *Trackten des Christlichen Mittelalters*, 1840-54, II, 98, plate 68).

(2) *A Collection of Royal Wills*, by J. N., 1780, p. 67.

(3) DUGDALE, *History of St. Paul's*, Ed. 1658, p. 47. The tomb exhibits effigies of John of Gaunt and his wife. The former in armour wearing a bascinet. BOLTON, in *The Elements of Armories*, published in 1610, describes the shield as being "convex towards the bearer. . . . $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yeard in length and about halfe a yeard in breadth, next to the body is a canvas glew'd to a boord, upon that thin board are broad thin axicles, slices, or plates of horne, nailed fast, and again over them twenty and sixe thicke pieces of the like, all meeting, and centring about a round plate of the same in the navell of the shield, and over all is a leather clozed fast to them with glew, or other holding stuffe, upon which his Armories were painted (p. 69)." There is an illustration of the shield.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 90.

The tomb
of John of
Gaunt in
Old St.
Paul's.



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and on the heaume were a cap of maintenance and crest like those on that of the Black Prince.

The tilting
heaumes of
Sir R.
Pembroke,
Sir R.
Braybrook,
and Sir
Nicholas
Hawberk.

In tilting heaumes of this period, this country is rich. The finest specimen, that of Sir Richard Pembroke (*ob. c. 1375*), is now in Edinburgh(1), whilst Cobham Church (Kent) possesses the heaumes of two knights, Sir Reginald Braybrook (*ob. 1405*) and Sir Nicholas Hawberk (*ob. 1407*), whose brasses are laid down on the chancel floor(2).

The tilting
heaume of
Sir Nicholas
Hawberk.



Sir Nicholas Hawberk, as his name implies, was a soldier of fortune. It was he who tilted in 1393 at Smithfield and unhorsed one Cockburne, one of the Scottish challengers, when the Earl of Mar was unhorsed by the Earl of Nottingham(3), and Sir William Darell, the King's banner-bearer of Scotland, fought an undecided contest with Sir Piers Courtenay(4).

Again, in Westminster Abbey hang the heaume, shield

(1) This unique specimen, once the property of the nation and hanging over the tomb in Hereford Cathedral, was given away by a former dean. It is to be hoped that one day it may be restored to its proper place. It is of three pieces of metal; the front plate is thickened and turned outward near the *ocularium*, and its bottom edge rolled over a wire to prevent it cutting the surcoat. The metal is so hard that a penknife will not scratch it. It is figured in all books on armour. Pembroke fought at Crécy (HENLEY, *Froissart, Tudor Translation*, I, 277; Rymer, Ed., 1818, III, Pt. 1, 51).

(2) Note the peculiar attachment for the crest on the heaume of Sir Nicholas Hawberk and compare it with the heaume and crest on the brass. The heaume weighs 12 lbs. 14 oz., and the thickness of the upper edge of the plate is $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

(3) The Earl of Mar died before he reached his home from the effects. (Srow, *Annales*, Ed., 1614, at p. 308).

(4) *Ibid.*

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and saddle, which tradition says Henry V. wore and used at Agincourt in 1415.

" the very casques
" That did affright the air at
Agincourt ?" (1)

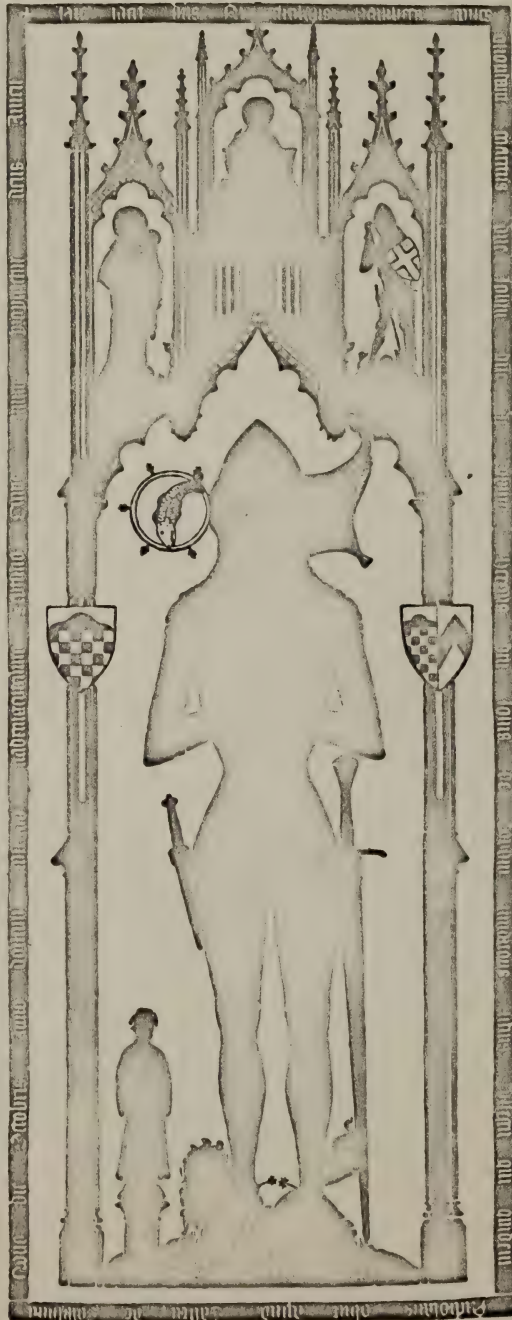
In this battle Henry fought hand to hand with Jean, Duc d'Alençon, who struck Henry on this very heaume, so let the wanderer in the Abbey think, as he looks upon it(2).

(1) *K. Hen. V.*, Act. 1, *ch.*, ll. 12, 13.

(2) There is a record of a charge for a funeral heaume; this heaume is undoubtedly not such a one. It is possible that in the funeral charges all the usual ones were made and a funeral heaume provided, but it does not follow that it was the one placed in the Abbey.

The following MS. refers to the helmet and armour carried at the funeral of Henry VII. in 1509: *The original Book of Expenses and whole of the Proceedings at the Funeral of Henry VII.* It commences with a list of those who attended the funeral, a description of their dresses, etc., and the cost of each item. There is a full description of the gold "herse cloth," the palls, the canopy, the King's robe, the robes of the "King's Cosyn," etc., with the names of the makers, cost, etc., the "King's Picture," for nine henchmen and the "maister"; very numerous entries

The brass of
Sir Nicholas
Hawberk.



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"Upon the King Alanzon prest so sore,
 "That with a stroke (for he was wond'rous strong),
 "He cleft the crown that on his helm he wore,
 "And tore his plume, that to his heels it hung :
 "Then with a second bruis'd his helm before,
 "That it his forehead pitifully wrung." (MICHAEL DRAYTON.)

On the shields, of heater shape, we can still see on the silk inside the *azure semée de luces Or*, and in pretence the arms of Navarre ; outside there are indistinct remains of red and blue color in the quarters (2).

CHAUCER'S
 description
 of the
 Knight.

In the reign of Richard II. (whom we especially associate with the tournament because SHAKESPEARE has dramatised such a scene), CHAUCER pictures the knight for us :—

"for the makynge of poore mens gowns with and without hoodes," expenses for carriage of black gownes from London to Richmond by water, with cost of the boats, torch bearers, etc., "for caryage by carte of the wardrobe to the water syde," for carrying various necessaries from Richmond to Westminster ; the various expenses of William Gysman in respect of the removal of things from Richmond ; the making of hangings at Richmond, full description of the saddles, side saddles and trappings, etc., for the Princess of Wales and the Princess of Castille, the trappings of the King's horse at St. Paul's, the "canapie" that was holden over the King's picture when he was taken out of the "chare" at St. Paul's ; "mantillas of silk and golde for the King's robe of purple velvet ; clothes of estate for the high altars." Full particulars of the preparations at St. Paul's, Richmond, etc. ; the description of the costs connected with the hearse fill three or more pages ; "diverse parcellis provyded and ordeynid for the buryall of o' late Sovereign Lorde Kyng Henry the VIIth on whos solle Jhesus have mercie, for th'apparellinge for a chare, to carry hym in wth the draughts, and for th'apparellinge of xxiii corsars to cary the said chare, thenxmen wth other nobles that bore the standers, the banners, *the cote armer helmet crowned and hys harnys* in the charge of the M^r of the Horse as hereafter particulerie is declared"; mornyng clothynge for the King's grantdame, Pryncesses, Ladys, Gentilwomen, and Chamberers wth mantills and kerchieffs for the same to be delivered by the M^r of the Wardrobe agen the buriall of the Kyng ; "Lyverey gevyn as well to the Archbishop and Dukes, Bishops, Erles, Lordes, Knightes, chapleyns, etc., ageyne thentirement of Kyng Henry the VIIth at Westminster the XIth day of May" Then follow sixty pages containing the names of all those who took part at the funeral with the number of yards of material they received for livery" (126 pp., fo.).

(2) The heaume and shield are figured and described in the *Catalogue of the Ironmongers' Exhibition of 1861*, Vol. I, pp. 145-7.

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“ Al of a Knight was fair and genl
In batail and in tournament,

.....

He dede next his white leere
Of cloth of lake whyt and cleere
A brech and eek a schert ;
And next his schert an aketoun (1),
And over that an habergoun,
For persyng of his hert ;
And over that a fyn hauberk,
Was al i-wrought of Jewes werk,
Full strong it was of plate ;
And over that his cote-armour,
As whyt as is a lily flour
In which he wolde debate.

.....

His scheld was al of gold so red,
And therinne was a bores head
A charbocle by his syde ;

.....

His jambeux were of quir boily
His swerdes schethe of yvory
His helm of latoun bright.
His sadel was of rowel boon,
His bridel as the sonne schon,
Or as the moone light ;
His spere was of fine cipres
That bodeth werre and no thing pees,
The heed ful scharp i-grunde(2)

.....

Som wol ben armed in an habergoun,
In a brest-plat and in a light gypoun ;
And somme woln have a peyre plates large ;
And somme woln have a Puce scheld, or a targe ;
Some woln been armed on here legges weel,
And have an ax, and somme a mace of steel.”(3)

(1) The *acton* (hacqueton) a form of gambeson, derived from the Arabic *al-qutun* (cotton). Saladin gave to Ric. I., *unum alcottonem. satis levem, nullo spiculo penetrabilem* (OMAN, *Art of War*, p. 511).

(2) *The Tale of Sir Thopas*, ll. 4-5, 146-172.

(3) *The Knight's Tale*, ll. 1261-1266.

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The knight was followed by armourers :

“ armourers also
With fyle and hammer ”

The tournament during the second half of the XIV. century.

FROISSART, who died in 1400, gives most graphic details of tournaments of his time, and the challenge of the three knights, Sir Bouciquaut, Sir Reynolde de Roy and the “lorde of St. Pye,” presents like a picture the “enterprise to do deeds of armes” at Calais in 1389(1). In MONSTRELET we have the challenge given in the year 1400 by an esquire of Arragon, in which he announces that he will wear a “tronçon de grève,” until his “lectres” are accepted or refused. His challenge is to fight on foot with axe, sword or dagger, afterwards mounted, with lance, and he stipulates that each wears similar *chapeaulx de fer*, but that they may wear what *gorgerin* they please. His challenge is accepted by one Sir John de Prendergast(2). Very characteristic was the acceptance by John Lord Welles, of the

(1) The “artycles” were drawn up by order of the King of France:—“For the great desyre that we have to come to the knowledge of noble gentlemen, knyghtes and squiers, straungers, as well as of the realme of Fraunce, as elsewhere of farre countreys : we shall be at saynt Ingylbertes, in the marches of Calays, the twenty day of the moneth of May next comyng, and there contynewe thyrty dayes complete to delyver all maner of knyghtes and squyers, gentlemen, straungers of any maner of nacyon that wyll come thyder for the breakynge of fyve speares, outhur sharpe or rokettes at their pleasure. And without our lodgynges shall be the sheldes of our armes, both on the sheldes of peace and of warre, and whosoever wyll just, lette hym come or sende the day before, and with a rod touche whiche shelde he please ; if he touche the shelde of warre, the next daye he shall just with whiche of the thre he wyll. And if he touche the shelde of peace, he shall have the justes of peace and of warre” The proclamation continues that there will be an official to take the names, and that “the shields shall not be covered with “yron nor steel,” and it concludes : “we have sealed this present writynge with the seales of our armes ; Written at Mountpellier, the twenty daye of Novembre, in the yere of our Lorde God, 1389, and signed thus :—Reynolde du Roy, Boucyquaut, Sainte Pye” (HENLEY, *Froissart, Tudor translation*, V, 308). Richard II. was present at the tournament “mais de lui estoit encores petit renom tenuz” (*Chron. de la Traïson, etc., de Richard II., etc.*, Ed. by B. WILLIAMS, 1846, at p. xliv.

(2) Ed. 1810, I, 13, *et seqq.* The account is given in great detail, and contains the challenge and acceptance in full. It is a very interesting example of the *torneamentum quasi hostile*.

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challenge of Sir David Lindsay in 1390: "Let words have no place," said he, "if you know not the chivalry and valiant deeds of Englishmen; assail ye me, day and place, where ye list, and ye shall soon have experience." Then a formal "taylyhe" was drawn up and Lindsay proceeded to London, his armour being sent by boat, *unum integrum harnesium de guerra pro corpore David Lyndesey de Scotia, militis*. The mounted combat with sharp spears took place on London Bridge in the presence of Richard II., and Lindsay was victorious. Then followed a combat on foot with daggers, when Lindsay was again victorious and could have killed Lord Welles, for Richard cried out: "Lyndyssay, cousin, good Lyndyssay! Do furth that thou should do this day," but Lindsay, leading Lord Welles to the royal gallery "presented him to the Queen as his gift, wishing, like a true knight that mercy should proceed from a woman." (1) The whole description of his fight is to be read in WYNTOWN'S poem in the pure old Scotch of the XV. century (2).

In 1343, during the reign of Edward III., we note the theatrical display, where at Smithfield the challengers came into the lists dressed as the Pope and Cardinals (3), and again, later, in 1393 TROKELOWE (4) describes the justers all in monastic garb as if to ridicule the ecclesiastical anathemas. Again, in 1386,

(1) *Lives of the Lindsays*, Ed. 1858, I, 90. There is an edition referred to in BUCHAN, *The Eglinton Tournament*, p. xxi, of *Collectanea Domini Davidis Lindesay de Mountha*, which includes copies of the "Office of Kingis et armes, heraulds and seruaundis of arms" of 7th Feb. 1447, and of the "Law of Armes and Lystis," and also of the "Ordinance and maner how tournayis were wont to be maid and the harness, etc.," but I have been unable to see this edition or to find the reference to it in any public library. Cf. also *Order for Combats, etc., in Scotland*, of 1424 (NEILSON, *Trial by Combat*, p. 261).

(2) *Lives of the Lindsays*, Ed. 1886, I, 366, where the poem is printed. Cf. also LINDSAY, *Squyer Medrumis Justyng*, and the account of the Berwick tournament of 1338 in WYNTOWN, *Cronykil*.

(3) HOLINSHEAD, Ed. 1807, II, 627; WALPOLE, *Misc. Ant.*, Ed. 1772, 4to, at p. 25.

(4) *Chr. Monas. S. Albani Johannis de Trokelowe*, Rolls Ed., 1866, p. 165.

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at Smithfield, before Richard II., there entered the lists "three score ladies of honour mounted on fayre palfreys, ryding on the one syde, richeley apparelled; and every ladye ledde a knight with a cheyne of sylver, which knightes were apparelled to just," recalling the romances of the troubadours(1):

"Servants d'amour regardez doucement
Aux échaffauts, Anges de Paradis;
Lors joûterez fort et joyeusement,
Et vous serez honorés et chéris."

So sang the French poet, EUSTACHE DESCHAMPS. The ladies, after the tourney, "tirèrent de leur sein diverses livrées de rubans et de galends de soye pour recompenser la valeur de ces nobles champions"(2). But the winner of the tournament had other prizes, generally jewels, and in England there is a record of a bear as the reward(3). The winner, too, was entitled to claim a kiss(4), perhaps "le don d'amoureuse merci"(5), or at least "le gage d'amour sans fin"(6).

The introduction of the unknown knight was of very early

(1) FROISSART, *Tudor trans.*, V, 422; WALPOLE, *Misc. Ant.*, Ed. 1772, p. 8; cf. also ST. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie*, I, 94. For early accounts of tournaments at Rheims in 1389, Bruges in 1392, in Italy in 1364, 1410, etc., vide LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, I, pp. 223 et seqq.

(2) ST. DENYS, *L'Histoire de Charles VI.*, quoted in ST. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie*, I, 164. Olivier de la Marche speaks of the gift of "faveurs" in 1445.

(3) RYMER, *Foedera*, Ed. 1816, I, 134: 1215 *De Civitate London' quae est receptaculum baronum servanda. . . . qui melius ibi faciet, habebit ursum quem domina quaedam mittet ad torneamentum.* Vide also LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, I, 28.

(4) ST. PALAYE, *L'Ancienne Chevalerie*, Ed. 1759, I, 176; where the enterprise was by one knight on behalf of one lady, the lady was the "Queen of the Tournament."

(5) One of the laws of the Round Table in the *Roman de Merlin* provides: "Il n'était pas permis aux chevaliers de la table ronde d'obtenir un don de merci d'une jeune pucelle, malgré elle, pourvu toutefois que sa résistance fût sérieuse" (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleures Dissertations*, XI, 361).

(6) This was the *ceinture virginale* which the lady took off and gave as a sign of her engagement to marry the knight. In later times it was a garter embroidered by her with the words *amour sans fin*. The latter gave place to the former because "la faiblesse ou l'infidélité d'une belle était moins à découvert par le don du gage d'amour sans fin pris dans la seconde acception" (*Ibid.*, xi., p. 366).

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date, the first idea being probably drawn from the romances(1). At a tournament at Rennes in the XIV. century Du Guesclin, the "unknown knight," finds himself justing with his father(2). The best account of the ceremonial at a tournament of this date is to be read in the *Ordonnance* printed by DU CANGE(3) entitled

(1) Cf. the old poem of *Rychard Coer de Lion*, composed about 1261 (printed in WEBER, *Metrical Romances*, 1810, Vol. II, 14) :

"Kyng Richard gan hym dysguyse
In a fal strange queyntyse.
He cam out of a valaye,
For to se of theyr playe,
As a knyght aventurous,
Hys atyre was orgulous :
Al togyder cole black
Was hys horse without lacke ;
Upon hys crest a raven stode,
That yaned as he wer wode ;
And about his necke a bell ;
Wherefore the resoun I shall you tell,
The oyng of the raven is
In travayll for to be, I wys ;
Sygnyfyaunce of the bell,
With holy church to dwell (ll. 267 et seqq).

(2) *Anciens memories sur du Guesclin*, printed in *Collection complète de Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, by M. PETITOT, IV, 178. The unknown knight is introduced in the Shakespearean play of *Pericles* ; each knight passes before the king to tourney, and his esquire presents his shield to the Princess when the knight is heralded by his motto and the description of his device (Act II, Sc. 2). It is interesting to note that the *ludus gymnasii*, "the comonne game thanne pleye" in GOWER's versified history of *Appollinus, the Prince of Tyre* (tennis in LAWRENCE TWINE's *Patterne of Painfull Adventures, etc., of Prince Appollonius*, 1576) is replaced by the tournament in *Pericles*. Cf. in the English *Gesta Romanorum*, 1577, the story in Chap. XXX of the emperor Averrhoes, who proclaims a tournament that the victor may marry his daughter, which the Knight Decius crosses the seas to attend (Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, 1839, p. 542). The suggestion that SHAKESPEARE owed something to SIDNEY's *Arcadia*, receives support when the tournament scene and the introduction of the "Black Knight" and "ill furnisht" knight, and their devices and mottoes in *Lib. I*, Ch. 17, in the *Arcadia*, are compared with Act II, Sc. 2, in *Pericles*. Readers of SCOTT will recall the picture of the entrance of the Disinherited Knight into the lists at Ashby ; the whole description paints a fine imaginative scene.

(3) *Appendix II, post*, p. xxi. Note that prices of billeting were to be settled, so that the knights should know what they had to pay. The armour described seems to have been *cuir bouilli* below the knees, chausses of mail, bascinets with camail, heaumes, breast-plates with two chains attached, one for the sword and another for the heaume.

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“C'est la manière et l'ordonnance, et comment on vouloit faire anciennement les Tournoys.”

Heralds,
their
perquisites.

All heralds had their perquisites, which varied according to the epoch in which they lived. In early times they took the armour which fell to the ground during the fight, the armour of anyone entering the lists who had no right to do so, the helmet of a knight at his first tourney, but not at his first just, if he had already fought at a tourney(1). As late as the year 1565 there is recorded a warrant for £145 for the “clouage and hynder partes of the trappers behynde the saddle . . . for justs royal and tourney as of ancient custom”(2). *Clouage* was the ancient claim of heralds for nailing to the pavilion the knights armorial shield; it is often called *nail money* in old English documents. The cry of *largesse* at all tournaments was always made by the heralds.

Church
armour.

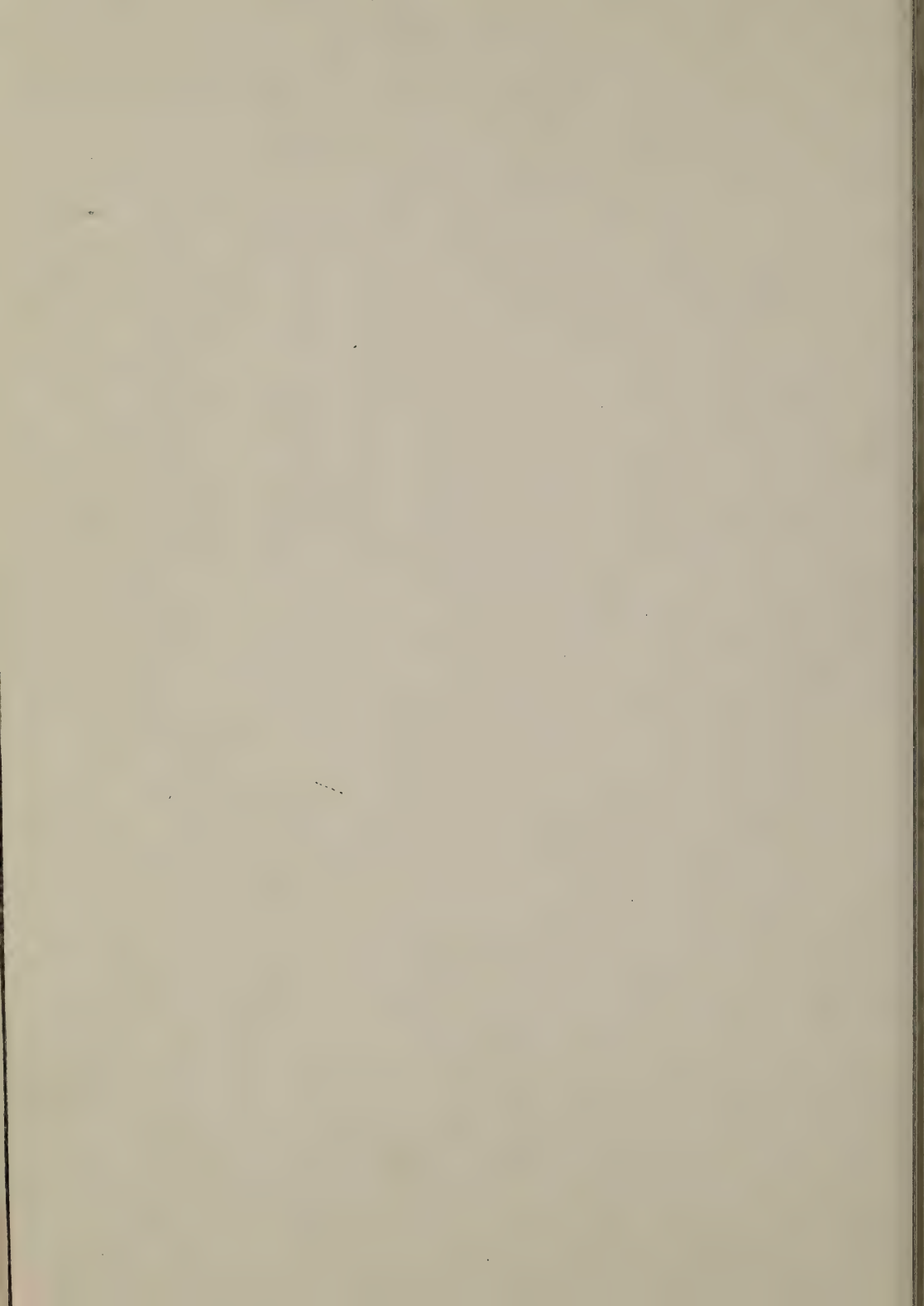
The Church, too, got something out of the warrior. When, in 1219, William, Earl of Pembroke, lay dying, and the priest suggested to the sinking warrior that he should give some of his spoil to the Church, and so make some amends for his disobedience to the Pope's prohibitions, he replied :

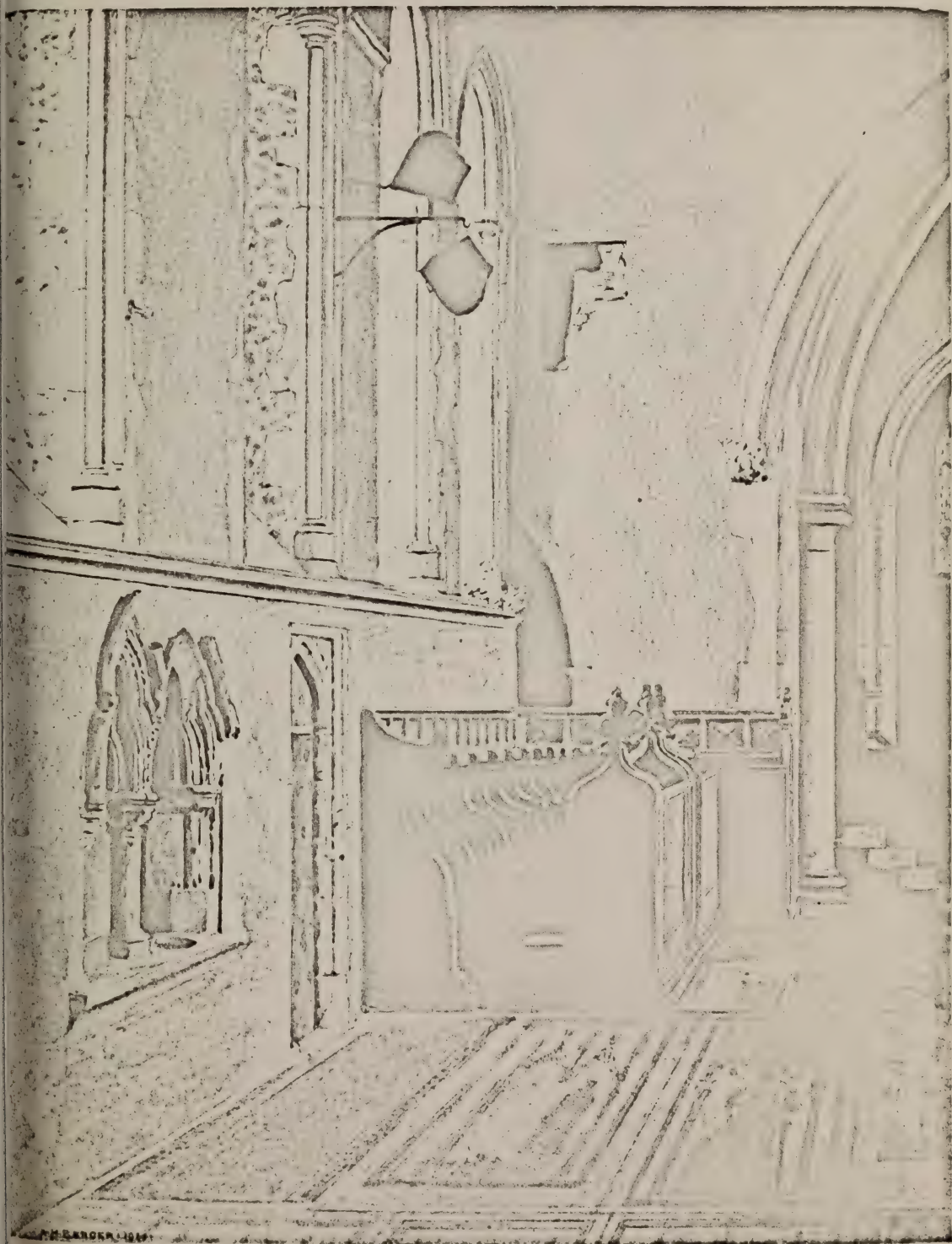
“Henri, soufrez mei un petit.
Li clerc sunt vers nos trop engrès :
Trop nos vunt barbiant de près.
Car j'ai pris v. cenz chevaliers
Dont j'oi et armes et destriers
E tot lor herneis retenu :
Se por ço m'est contretenu
Li reignes Dé, n'i a que prendre,
Car je nel porveie pas rendre.”(3)

(1) The claim of the helmet at the first just of a knight did not however frank him against the claim afterwards at his first tourney (Du CANGE, *Appendix II, post, p. xiv*).

(2) *C. S. P. Eliz. Dom.* 1547-1580 at p. 264; *vide also Harl. MS. No. 69, fo. 24*, printed in *Appendix VI, post, p. lxi*: “Fees appteyning to thofficiers of Armes at all thos Triumphes aforesaid”; *Lansdowne MS.* 285, No. 58, *Appendix V, post, p. xlii*.

(3) MEYER, *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke*, III, ll. 18480-8. Pembroke was buried in the Temple. He was an “associate” of the





Cobham Church.

[A. H. BERGER, 1877.]

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Fortunately for the archæologist the Church often made a claim for armour. From this arose a custom, and that is how we possess to-day so many priceless and unique pieces. The reader may have seen the achievements of the Black Prince(1), the real tilting heaumes of Sir Richard Pembridge, Sir Nicholas Hawberk, the saddle, shield and heaume of Henry V.(2), to which allusions have been made. Doubtless the Church could make what claim she liked when there existed no right of burial in any particular church, and thus it was that a Prior in 1334 refused to perform the burial of Prince John, son of Edward II., until the Priory had received his armour, horse and a fine of £100(3). It became customary for a knight either to bequeath, as a "mortuary"(4), his armour or his horse (generally his horse, which was at once compounded for by a payment in money), or for his family to present a piece of his armour, and this latter custom must have been quite common down to the Commonwealth, for numerous

Temple; the Master and Chapter admitted important knights as "associates," who could live their ordinary secular life, and therefore attend tournaments (which Knight Templars were forbidden to do). By the deed of admission as "associate" the knight usually promised to bequeath to the Temple "my own horse, with two other saddle-horses, all my equipage with armour complete, as well as iron as wood, fit for a knight, and 100 marks of silver" (ADDISON, *The Hist. of the Knights Templars*, p. 310).

(1) Once, perhaps, hung over the tomb in two groups, one of war and one of tournament. At the funeral, as decreed in his will, in the funeral cortège followed "deux destrez covertz de noz armez, et deux homez armez en noz armez et en noz heaumes voient devant dit notre corps, c'est assavoir, lun pur la guerre de noz armez entiers quartellez, et l'autre pur la paix de nos bages des plumes d'ostruce" (*A Collection of Royal Wills*, by J. N., p. 68). *Vide ante*, p. 51.

(2) *Ante*, p. 54.

(3) *Catalogue of Ironmongers Hall Exhibition of 1861*, I, 186.

(4) NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, the will of John, Lord Greystock of 1434: "I bequeath my horse as a mortuary, and also all my habiliments of war, viz., coot armour, penons, gyron," etc. (I, 230). The will of W. Beville, 1487: "My best hors in ye name of my mortuary, after the custom of the Cuntre" (II, 781). "Principal" is sometimes used instead of "mortuary" (I, 75). Some wills mention the saddle as the mortuary (I, 136, 235); cf. the saddle of Hen. V. in Westminster Abbey, *ante*, p. 50.

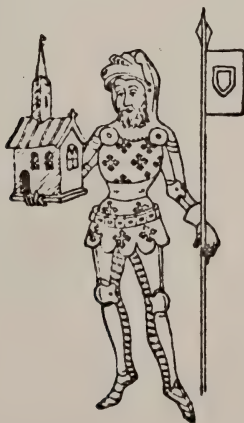
64 THE HISTORY OF THE TOURNAMENT.

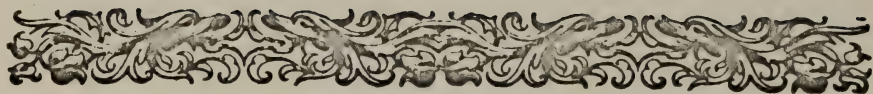
are the helmets of the period of Charles I. in parish churches. The old families greatly prized armour(1), so that from very early days special armour was often made for a funeral(2), and thus many church helmets are but poorly-made blacksmith's productions. Although churches have been shamefully pillaged, yet in some districts many of the helmets have been preserved. In Cobham Church, Kent, there are four, and within a few miles the archæologist will find two in Birling, four in Aylesford, one in Addington, and one in Otford Churches(3).

(1) *Ante*, p. 49.

(2) *Ante*, pp. 52, 55(2).

(3) In Birling Church, Kent, are two Nevill helmets. One of date *c.* 1480 (illustrated in the next Chapter), the other Elizabethan. In Aylesford are two Elizabethan specimens and gauntlets, one of which is engraved, a Charles I. helmet and a poor funeral heraldic barred helmet. Two have the family Finch crest. In Addington is a fine Elizabethan helmet with the Watton crest, in Otford is a similar one with the Polhill crest. The crest is a valuable mark of identification connecting the helmet with the effigy on the tomb, over which, unfortunately, the helmet is generally no longer hung.





The History of the Tournament.

IV.

THE COMBAT OF CHIVALRY.



NO sport in any sense of the word was the combat of chivalry (1). It was a contest between two knights, fought with weapons of war until one of the two was unable to fight any longer. In early times western nations used this test of strength, endurance and skill as a form of judicial trial, and later, long after it was discarded by law, it was an ordeal, which chivalry, and finally the Court of Chivalry, clung to, for the settle-

The combat of chivalry not a sport.

ment of the disputes between knights when their honour was called in question. It is from this combat of chivalry that the duel, now flickering to its finish, has come to us. A knight in

(1) This chapter is an attempt to explain to the reader very briefly the connection between the combat of chivalry and the sport of the tournament. Both had much in common as regards ceremonial and setting, but they originated in totally different ways. The writer does not pretend to that historical training which would entitle him to write upon the subject except for the above-mentioned purpose.

We know from an early writer, HONORÉ BONET, whose work is entitled *L'Arbre des Batailles*, that soon after 1382 the "law of arms," in relation to combats of chivalry, was reduced to an accepted code. This author treats of the origin and history of battle, the laws of war, and, in the fourth part, of the still surviving, but already discredited, judicial combat, and of the combat of chivalry. BONET lays it down that it was the duty of the

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early times supported his word, not by swearing on his honour but by his readiness to fight: "Si sui prest que ge m'en combat"(1); even kings proposed to settle a war by combat(2).

Early history
of the trial
by mortal
combat.

The appeal to force, as part of a legal system to decide disputes, was purely western in its origin. MONTESQUIEU argues that it was the natural outcome of a procedure, which did not compel a plaintiff to prove his case, but allowed the defendant to deny the facts alleged upon the oath of himself and of his witnesses, whose number depended upon the gravity of the case(3). Similarly GIBBON attributes its institution to its being the only way out of the difficulty arising from the abuses of gross perjury, and to the fact that the "turbulent

King to try to prevent combats, and that in all cases he could intervene after the contest had begun. Probably in cases of murder, serious crime and treason, this duty of the King was a formal one, for BONET expressly states that in such cases the perjurer should suffer "that punicion . . . as the case gaffe for to be don upon that other, if he had truly atteynted thereof," and in treason cases "suld have the payne of talyoune, be the law civile." Again, when the King intervened in other cases, BONET lays stress on the custom that the King could give victory to one party and condemn the other in "expenses:" "The Kyng answereth and saith I adjuge unto the honoure and victorie of the bataylle, and I pardone to that other, for so is my pleasur for to be don." Conversely, in cases of serious crime and treason, nothing is said of the King's intervention, and probably such action by the King was rare. It is to be noted that SHAKESPEARE in *Ric. II.* follows the "law of arms" (of which he often speaks in his historical plays and in *K. Lear*), and makes Richard formally attempt to make peace between Bolingbroke and Mowbray (*Act I, Sc. 1*). Richard did, we know, intervene and stop the combat, which probably for political reasons was thought wise. *Vide post*, p. 77, and as to BONET's work, p. 78, n. 2.

(1) MEYER, *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, l. 6449.

(2) As examples may be cited: The challenge of Hen. II. to Philippe Auguste, anno 1188 (*Ibid.*, l. 7399); the dispatch of knights by the Kings of Castile and Navarre as champions in case Hen. II. should leave the dispute to combat (HOLINSHED, Ed. 1586, p. 100); the challenge to Ric. I. of Philip of France to settle a dispute by a tourney of five knights on either side, which Richard declined unless both kings were of the number; the challenge by Edward III. to the King of France to settle their dispute by combat between two champions or by a tourney à outrance of 100 knights on either side (*Rymer*, R.S., II., Pt. 2, at p. 1131); the challenge of Richard II. to Charles VI. (*Ibid.*, VII, 407).

(3) MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Loix*, Bk. 28, Chs. 17-29.

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barbarians, who might have disdained the sentence of the magistrate, submissively acquiesced in the *Judgment of God*," adding that these trials "gradually obtained superior credit and authority, among a warlike people, who could not believe, that a brave man deserved to suffer, or that a coward deserved to live"(1). We hear of it as being regulated by precise procedure in A.D. 501 by King Gundobald of Burgundy, and as rapidly spreading through Europe(2).

With the arrival of William the Conqueror in England, to the other ordeals used by the criminal law(3) was added that by combat, equally regarded as a *Judicium Dei*, and hitherto unknown in this country. It displaced in a measure the other ordeals which disappeared altogether by the time of BRACTON. Thus the trial by combat persisted, although its application was more and more limited, and ultimately denied to manifestly guilty persons. As a legal institution, from the time of Edward I. and onward, it flickered fitfully towards its end. Even in BRACTON's time not more than twenty combats a year had taken place(4).

(1) GIBBON, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Ch. 38.

(2) BOUQUET, *Leg. Burg. Tit.*, XLV, Tom. IV, pp. 267-268. The reason for the law is mentioned in the edict: *Multos in populo nostro et pervicatione causantium et cupiditatis instinctu ita cognoscimus depravari, ut de rebus incertis sacramenta plerumque offerre non dubitent et de cognitis jugiter perjurare. Cujus sceleris consuetudinem submoventes, praesenti lege decernimus, etc.*

(3) FINLASON, *Reeve's Hist. of English Law*, Ed. 1869, I, pp. 33, 61, 135, 185, 475; DUGDALE, *Origines Juridiciales*, Ed. 1666, p. 65; SELDEN, *The Duello or Single Combat*, Ch. VI. Some historians are of opinion that there is evidence that the ordeal of combat was known to the criminal law in England before the Conquest.

(4) There is no extant treatise of the early centuries describing a combat in England in a case of *writ of right*, but there is material from which the procedure, about 1200, in Scotland, may be gathered (NEILSON, *Trial by Combat*, citing *Scots Acts, Fragmenta Collecta*, at p. 87).

As late as 1571 a defendant demanded trial by combat in a *writ of right* for a "certeine manour and demaine lands," and champions were appointed, but the combat which had been allowed by the judge, *non sine magna jurisconsultorum perturbatione*, was stopped from

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FROISSART,
his account
of the judi-
cial combat
between
Jean de
Carogne and
Jacques Le
Grys.

Perhaps the best account of a judicial combat is the one related by FROISSART between Jean de Carogne and Jacques

taking place by Elizabeth (SPELMAN, *Glossarium in voce Campus*). In Ireland in 1583 there was a judicial duel in the presence of "Lords Justices, the judges and counsellors" (one an Archbishop) between Teig O'Connor and Connor O'Connor. Teig O'Connor cut off the head of his opponent and presented it to the Court on the point of the sword (HOLINSHED, Ed. 1808, VI, 455). In 1817 one Thornton, "appealed for murder," pleaded "not guilty," saying: "I am ready to defend the same by my body," and being handed a pair of gloves, put on one and threw down the other on the floor (these gloves have been preserved and are described in *N. & Q.*, 6th Ser., XI, p. 463). Lord Ellenboro' granted the demand, being powerless to do otherwise. No duel was of course fought, and Thornton was liberated (1818, *Ashford v. Thornton*, 1 B. and Ald. 405). This case led to the passing of the Act of 59 Geo. III., c. 46, in 1819, which abolished all possible trials by battle. The attitude of the Church towards mortal combat and ordeals is exceedingly interesting. It was recognised and used by the Church. As early as A.D. 772 in the *Capitulae* of the Synod of Neuching, Bavaria, it is laid down in Cap. IV: "In combats by two persons, called *wehadinc*, they ought, before commencing, to swear against using sorcery (*insortientur*), that neither suffer from any diabolic or magic influence." Cap. V, "Whoever, when the Judgment of God in combat, called *chamsfuvie*, has been decided, again accuses those who before were his accusers, should be made to swear in church with three sponsors the oath called *ath*" (HÉFÉLÉ, *Histoire des Conciles*, V, 29, 30). In A.D. 781, recognition of the practice is to be read in the proceedings of the Frankish Synod, "L'épreuve de la croix fera voir si quelqu'un est coupable de parjure" (*Ibid.*, V, 40, No. 10). In A.D. 847 the Bishop of Verdun, accused of "high treason," submits himself to the Judgment of God and offers to put forward one of his "serviteurs" as champion. He is allowed to do so and is victorious; the Bishop is therefore confirmed in his Bishopric (Synod of Frankfort, *Capitula* 9, *Ibid.*, V, 114). Later on, a man accused of killing a priest is to be put to the proof by the ordeal of fire (*First Synod of Mayence, anno 847, Ibid.*, V, 329). In A.D. 928 HÉFÉLÉ notes that at a synodic Diet in England, rules were drawn up on *ordalia*, which played a great part at that time in English jurisprudence (*Ibid.*, VI, 164). The Synod at Seligenstadt in the year 1022 recognises the combat in cases of adultery: *Canon* 14, "Si deux personnes étant accusées d'adultère nient toutes deux, et si elles demandent qu'une d'elles subisse l'épreuve (le judgment de Dieu), elles sont regardées comme également coupables si l'épreuve est défavorable" (*Ibid.*, VI, 252). In Spain in A.D. 1077, at a Synod at Burgos, the dispute as to the introduction of the Roman as against the Mozarabic liturgy was submitted to a combat by champions "en champ clos." The champion for the Mozarabic liturgy being victorious, the king decided to ask for a new papal legate (*Ibid.*, VI, 611). At Toledo, in A.D. 1088 the same dispute about the liturgies was referred to the ordeal by fire by throwing both liturgies on the fire, when the old Spanish liturgy remained unburned, and the king gave judgment for both to be in future used, whence came the Spanish proverb, "Laws are what kings want them to be" (*Ibid.*, VII, 14). In A.D. 1092, a Synod at Szabolcs settled a fee of 1 livre to the priest at an ordeal by water and 2 livres at an ordeal by fire (*Canon* 28, *Ibid.*, VII, 20). It would be inaccurate to say that the Church made no attempt to lend her authority against the *Judicia Dei*, for Celestin III., Innocent III. and Honorius III. and many other later Popes prohibited them (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs*

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Le Gris, which took place in France in 1385(1). After the defeat of Le Gris, de Carogne "demanded if he had done his devoyre," and they answered that he "hadde valyauntly acheved his batayle." Upon this Le Gris was delivered to the hangman, and "he drewe him to the gybet of Mountfaucon, and there hanged him up"(2). If the combat had gone otherwise

Dissertations, etc., Vol. VI, 410), and, as early as the IX. century, we have Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, writing: *contra damnabilem opinionem putantium divini judicii veritatem igne vel aquis vel conflictu armorum pateferi, librum composuit* (BOUQUET, *Rec. des Hist. des Gaules*, VI, at p. 449, note). But there do not appear in the early period to have been many *canons* made against these trials, as the church was always afraid of conflict with the civil law; yet there were exceptions. For example, in A.D. 855 a canon was passed at the Council of Valence, which (a) banished the victor from the blessings of the church, until he had expiated his crime by penitence, and (b) inflicted penalties as to the burial of the defeated combatant. At all events, after a long course of timid condemnation, the church, by the 18th canon of the Council of Lateran, did prohibit the ordeal in 1215 (HÉFÉLÉ, *Hist. des Conciles*, V, 402; VIII, 132). Cf. on the subject of *Judicia Dei* generally, LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, VI, pp. 389-471, and particularly as to champions, *Ibid.*, 397.

(1) In this contest the combatants were mounted. In the earliest judicial combats, all fought on foot; later, knights fought mounted, but probably such contests were mostly in the nature of combats of chivalry. Cf. an assize roll of Henry III. recording the combat between two esquires on foot, Walter Bloweberme and Hamo Le Stare, in which there are drawings of the battle and of the vanquished combatant, Le Stare, hanging on a gibbet (*Selden Soc.*, I, *Pleas of the Crown*).

(2) FROISSART, *Tudor trans.*, IV, 364; BRANTÔME, *Discours sur les Duels*, Ed. 1887, p. 11: "J'ay veu ce combat représenté dans une vieille tapisserie tendue dans la chambre du roy à Bloys." OLIVIER DE LA MARCHÉ, *Livres de l'Advis au Gaige de Bataille*, printed in PROST, *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, p. 1). In BUCHON, *Chronique*, etc., Froissart, Vol. X, pp. 285, 503 et seqq., is printed the report of the trial to Parliament, cited from *Quæstiones Joannis Galli per arresta Parlamenti decisæ quæstio 85, pars 5*, Tom. II, *Coll. de C. du Moulin*, *Nota de Duello Jacobi le Gris*. In the *Memoire sur les épreuves par le duel*, etc., by DUCLOS (LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, VI, 407), the miscarriage of justice in this case is cited as leading to the suppression of these combats in France, "at all events they ceased to be judicial." In OLIVIER DE LA MARCHÉ, *Le Livre de l'Advis au Gaige de Bataille* (printed in PROST, *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, p. 19), an account of the combat between one Mahuot and Jacotin Plouvier in 1455 is given. The author ends the account thus: "il fut mis hors de la lisse et confessé, il mourut, et fut mené au gibet et pendu comme meurdrier. . . . Et ainsi fut le cas avéré du meurdre que le dit Mahuot avoit faict, ce qui n'eust jamais esté faict par aultre preuve."

As to these judicial duels, see extracts from A. CALMET, *Histoire de Lorraine*, 1745, 4 vols., fo., printed by LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, VI, 443, and the editor's own note (*Ibid.*, p. 465); and especially as to German combats, FAVINE, *Theater of Honour*, Ed. 1623, p. 459; *Archæologia*, XXIX, 350; N. SCHLICHTEGROLL, *Talhofer MS.*, ob. fo., 1817.

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the historian says that the wife of de Carogne, who had accused Le Gris of rape, would have been burned(1).

Chivalry,
the Court of
Chivalry,
and the Just
à outrance.

It was from this invention of law, by which the truth or falsehood of an accusation was decided by force of arms according to a settled and recognised procedure officially conducted, that chivalry, and later the Court of Chivalry, when it came into existence, borrowed its method of dealing with accusations affecting honour. The Court of Chivalry, under the Constable and Marshal, was instituted in the time of Edward I. to try, among other matters, disputes affecting honour, which previously had been referred by the king to those officers, sitting as officers of the *Curia Regis*. Richard II. made such an extended use of the Court, especially as a "treason court," that in 1384, in 1389, and again in 1399, Parliament declared its limitations(2). The Court was not a Court of Record, and could not give damages or enforce its decree(3).

(1) Cf. Synod of Seligenstadt, *Canon XIV* (HÉFÉLÉ, *Hist. des Conciles*, VI, 252). In England it does not appear that the judicial duel ever took place between husband and wife as it did in Germany (*vide Archaeologia*, XXIX, 350, where a MS. of 1400 by PAULUS KALL is described and illustrations from it are reproduced. Kall was Master of Defence to the Duke of Bavaria). The last duel of this kind was at Bâle in 1200. In the Gotha Archducal Library is a MS. in German of 1467 by HANS TALHOFER on trial by battle, which has been printed and edited by NATHANAEL SCHLICHTEGROLL (Munich, 1817). Plate V. gives a reproduction of a miniature of a combat between a man and a woman. On p. 15 reference is made to another MS. in Vienna, edited by J. C. H. DREYER, and to *Curiositäten der Physisch-Literarisch-Artistisch-Historischen Vor- und der Mitwelt*, Vol. I, Pt. V, pub. 1812, in which are given drawings of numerous men and women combats from the *Talhoffer MS.*; the book is full of bibliographical interest.

(2) 8 Ric. II., c. 5; 13 Ric. II., c. 2 and 3; 1 Hen. IV., c. 14.

(3) For interesting details in regard to the Court of Chivalry *vide Manual of Mil. Law; Comyn's Digest*, Ed. 1764, Vol. II, p. 484; HALE, *Hist. of the Common Law*, Ed. 1820, p. 40. *Coke's Inst.*, C. XVII: "Court of Chivalry," prints a writ of 1429, issuing out of the Court to the Sheriffs of London, ordering the preparation of lists at the king's expense for a combat between one, Upton, a lawyer, and Downe. Cf. also the warrant of Henry VI. (printed by S. BENTLEY in *Excerpta Historica*, p. 391) for a writ to the Sheriffs of London to erect *barrers and lysts*, "Wel graveled and sanded" at the royal cost for the appeal of High Treason heard before the Duke of Somerset in Whitehall in 1453, whereby *bataille*

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The ceremonial was complicated and long. In 1306 Philippe Le Bel had issued his *Ordonnance*(1), from which Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, Constable of England, and sixth son of Edward III., took his Rules(2). The chroniclers are more concerned with the descriptions of the contests than with procedure, but many MSS. of the time, was "joyned" between John Halton and Robert Noreys "to be doon in West Smythfelde the xxv. day of Juyn next co'myng." The writ ordered "a convenient skaffolde for US to have the sight of the saide bataille."

The ceremonial.
Ordonnance
of 1306 of
Philippe
of France.
Rules of
Thomas of
Woodstock,
Duke of
Gloucester.

A John Halton is mentioned in 31 *Hen. VI., Rot. Parl.*, V, 265, as one of the chief partisans of Jack Cade in his rebellion. The Sheriffs' return for expenses was £30 14s. 2d. From the earliest times the meanest subjects were supplied with arms and, where they fought in armour, with armour at the king's expense. In these combats the charges often included those of a painter for the shield and trappings. *Vide* the warrant of the king to Jenkyn Stanley, Esquire, of 24 May, 1453, to provide armour and weapons for the combat between John Lyalton (? Halton) and Robert Noreys (*Proc. of Privy Coun. ii.*, VI, 135), and also that to Thomas Bee, painter, and the letter of the defendant in the same combat asking for a "peyntour aft the custume in the said cort of olde tyme used (*Ibid.*, VI, 132). There is also a writ of 19 Oct., 25 *Hen. VI.*, to the Keeper of the Privy Seal, to issue warrants to John Stanley, serj. of the armoury, to provide armour and weapons for John Davy and William Catour (*Ibid.*, VI, 55), which is especially interesting as being the combat from which SHAKESPEARE, in 2 *Hen. VI.*, took his facts (*post*, p. 73, where the references to the different chroniclers and the exchequer record of the expenses are given). Later on, even for a just, the king paid part of the expenses. In France the same custom obtained. There is a record of 1398 of a just in Paris, held by the Lord of Orleans, in which one Colart de Laon was paid 52 francs for making "houpelandes," and decorating the "selle, pimère, chanfrin, et écu doré de fin or semé de porc-épics de peintre," etc. (CHAMPOLLION, *Louis et Charles, ducs d'Orléans*, I, 56; III, 11).

(1) It was first printed in part in 1515 in *Recueil d'Ordonnances et Status Royaulx*, etc., and in full in 1610 under the title of *Traité contre les Duels, avec l'édit de Philippes le Bel, de l'an MCCCVI*, by JEAN SAVARON. There is a translation in FAVINE, *Theater of Honour*, II, 438; the best edition is by CRAPELET, *Cérémonies des Gages de Bataille* (1830), which reproduces the eleven miniatures of the beautiful Paris MS. This *Ordonnance* was probably only a re-enactment of previous edicts coming from the reign of St. Louis (*Ibid.*, pp. 72 et seqq.).

(2) There are many MSS. of these Rules in existence. Some are in Latin (in which they were first written) and some in the English translation. Cf. *Stowe MSS.* 583(3); *Cott. MSS.*, Nero, D., VI; *Harl. MSS.*, 69 (23); *Hastings MS.* (*Archæologia*, LVII, Pt. 1, 61); *Linc. Inn Hale MSS.*, XI, 6, with historical and legal commentary. Transcripts have been printed in SPELMAN, *Glossarium in voce Campus*; *Archæologia*, LVII, at Pt. 1, App. B, p. 61; MEYRICK, *Antient Armour*, II, 55; LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, II, 44.

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dealing with the way in which the combats were conducted, have been transcribed and printed(1). The tournament scene, arising out of a charge of treason, in SHAKESPEARE'S *Richard II.*, presents a "chivalrous design of knightly trial"(2).

(1) DU CANGE, *Glossarium in voce Duellum*; FAVINE, *Theater of Honour*, Ed. 1623, II, 422: "Of Duelloes, Fights and Single Combates performed at the Sharpe and to the extremitie of Life"; LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, Ed. 1648, II, printing the "Ordonnance faite dans un ancien Echiquier de Normandie, touchant les Combats à outrance" (pp. 119-124). PROST, in his *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, prints *Le Livre de l'Advis de Gaige de Bataille*, par MESSIRE OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE, *Le Livre du Seigneur de l'Isle-Adam* (JEHAN DE VILLIERS), *pour Gaige de Bataille*; *Formulaire des Gaiges de Bataille*, par MESSIRE HARDOUIN DE LA JAILLE. C. DE NEUFCHAISES, *Du Combat en champ cloz tiré des Memoires du susdit Maréchal de Tauanes* (c. 1610), edited by H. CHEVREUL, Paris, 1878. PIKE, *A History of Crime*, I, 389, prints at length an epitome of *A Battle of Treason*, by JOHN HILL, "armourer and sergent in the office of Armourie with King Henry IV.," written in the early years of Henry VI., from a MS. copied for the use of Sir Matthew Hale, now in the Linc. Inn Lib. (Hale MSS. XII, No. 11). The same MSS. include "a volume of collections relating to proceedings in Courts Military" (No. XI). NEILSON, *Trial by Combat*, p. 261, prints *The Order of Combats for Life in Scotland*, from a MS. "of the Laws, Arms, and Offices of Scotland pertaining to James I., King of Scots." James I. returned to Scotland from England in 1424. Mr. Neilson notes that "every sentence has its close counterpart in the English Ordinance of Thomas of Woodstock." At p. 226 is also printed the text of a curious MS. of a work entitled *The Maner of Battale*. (There is a MS. of the work in the *Harl. MSS.* No. 4700.) The opening words attribute the authorship to one named VIGESIUS under the title *De bello Campestri*: "Heir techis Us Vegeis in his buk of Chevalry how battale within listis salbe governit." It would seem likely that this refers to *The boke of the Fayt of Armes and Chyualrye*, "whiche xpyne of pyse made and dre | we out of the boke named Vegecius de re militari and out of | tharbre of bataylles. . . . whiche boke beyng in frē | she was delyuered to me William Caxton by the most crysten | kyng and redoubted pryncy my naturel and souerayn kyng henry the | vij | kyng of england and of frañce. . . . the | xxiiij day of Januere the | iii | yere of his re | gne and desired and wyllid me to translate this said boke and reduce | it in to our English and natural tonge." *Vide post*, p. 78.

(2) SHAKESPEARE introduces in 2 *Hen. VI.*, I, Sc. 3, and II, Sc. 3, a combat between persons of low degree. Horner, an armourer, is accused by his servant Peter of uttering treason, whilst they were "scouring my lord of York's armour":—

Suffolk. " that Richard, duke of York,
Was rightful heir unto the English crown,
And that your majesty was an usurper."

York asks the king that Horner should "have all the rigour of the law," and the king addresses Gloster thus:

K. Hen. "Uncle, what shall we say to this in law?" to which Gloster replies:

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SHAKESPEARE's authorities were HOLINSHED⁽¹⁾ and perhaps the

Glos. "And let these have a day appointed them
For single combat, in convenient place ;
For he hath witness of his servant's malice :
This is the law"

When Peter refuses to fight, Gloster replies :

"Sirrah, or you must fight, or else be hanged."

When the combat takes place, Horner is defeated, and the king speaks :

K. Hen. "Go, take hence that traitor from our sight ;
For, by his death, we do perceive his guilt ;
And God, in justice, hath reveal'd to us
The truth and innocence of this poor fellow,
Which he had thought to have murther'd wrongfully." (Act. II, Sc. 3.)

The chronicles were the source of SHAKESPEARE's facts. In them appear the names of the combatants, John Daveys and William Catour, as also the name of one of the sheriffs, Horne, which probably suggested the name, *Horner*, to SHAKESPEARE (FABIAN, *s.d.* 1446. This combat is likewise recorded in *Proc. of Privy Council*, VI, 55, *ante*, p. 71). In NICHOLS, *Manners, etc.*, of *Antient Times* (p. 213) is printed the Exchequer record of the charges for erecting the barriers and preparing the lists for this same combat. The barriers were brought in nine carts from Westminster, which is evidence of the existence of barriers, ready for use. Inside the lists were strewn rushes and "168 lode of sonde and gravell." The following items are interesting : "Paid to Officeres for watchyng of ye ded man in Smythfelde, ye same daye and ye nyghte aftry that ye bataill was doon ; and for hors hyre for ye Officeres at ye execution doying ; and for the hangman's labour, 11s. 6d. Also for ye cloth that lay upon ye ded man in Smythfelde, 8d. Also paid for one pole and nayllis, and for setting up of ye said manny's hed on London-bridgge, 8d." The total cost was £10 18s. 9d. It is worth noticing that the work of BRITTON—the early legal writer, who condensed BRACON—was first printed in 1540, and in the judicial combat for felony the hypothetical appellat is called *Peter* (Ch. XXII, Sec. 4). Did SHAKESPEARE read BRITTON ? ANDREW HORNE, too, was a name known as the writer of a MS., *inter alia* on combats in *Mirroi des Justices*, much read in SHAKESPEARE's time.

As regards the weapon, "staff with a sand-bag fastened to it" (2 *Henry VI.*, II, 3). In the *First Part of the Contention of the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster*, Act I, Sc. 3, Gloster mentions the weapons "Ebon staves and sandbags." The proper one was a baton, an ell long, tipped with horn at each end, and each man carried a square target covered with leather. The only case, in which a sandbag was attached, was in the combat assigned in a "Writ of Right," and which was a kind of cudgel playing to show superiority of skill, and in such a case the death of either party was not sought (DUGDALE, *Origines Juridicales*, Ed. 1666, p. 68). The first use of the baton was probably due to making the combat less sanguinary (MONTESQUIEU, XXVIII, C. 20). BRITTON gives the law in appeals of felony as requiring the arms to be "deus bastouns cornuz de une longure" (I, XXIII, 14).

(1) Ed. 1586, p. 494. HOLINSHED must have gone for his facts to FROISSART, from whose account we learn that the Earl of Derby sent "into Lombardy to the Duke of Myllayne, Syr Galeas, for to have armure at his pleasure," who despatched armour in the

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Rules of Thomas Woodstock (1), which from the existence of so large a number of MSS., we may assume to have been well known. In the first Act Richard had asked John of Gaunt whether Bolingbroke appealed Mowbray "on ancient malice" (2) or "on some known ground of treachery." The King is informed that the appeal is on the grounds of treason. Bolingbroke throws down his gage and Mowbray takes it up; Mowbray in his turn "interchangeably" (3) hurls down his gage. Bolingbroke, who has taken up the gage, throws it down; Mowbray does likewise and the gage is handed to the King. The King then commands that the combat is to take place at Coventry "upon St. Lambert's day," that:—

"Justice design the victor's chivalry."

The scene of the combat (4) at the "lists set out" opens with

charge of four of his best armourers. Galeas Visconti, Duke of Milan, was a great knight of chivalry. Like Henry IV., he also tried to attract Christine de Pisan to his Court. "The Erle Marshall on his parte sent into Almayn" (FROISSART, *Tudor trans.*, VI, 336). Cf. also the account of the combat in *Cronique de la traison et mort de Richart deux roy dengleterre* (Ed. by B. WILLIAMS, 1846, at pp. 140 *et seqq.*).

(1) *Ante*, p. 16.

(2) A challenge on the grounds of "ancient malice" would have been fought out as a *torneamentum quasi hostile*. Cf. *ante*, p. 47.

(3) It is interesting to compare these formalities of the combat with the scene in *K. Lear* (Act V, Sc. 3), when Albany addresses Edmund thus:—

Albany. "Thou art arm'd, Gloster:—Let the trumpet sound:
If none appear to prove upon thy person,
Thy heinous, manifest, and many treasons,
There is my pledge:" [*throwing down a glove*]

Edmund. "There's my exchange: [*throwing down a glove*] what in the world he is
That names me traitor, villain-like he lies:
Call by the trumpet; he that dares approach,
On him, on you (who not?) I will maintain
My truth and honour firmly."

Cf. also the appeals of Aumerle and others, *Rich. II.*, Act IV, Sc. 1.

(4) Gosford Green, Coventry (DUGDALE). The king lodged "in a tower that belonged to Sir William Bagot (HOLINSHED, Ed. 1586, p. 494).

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the reception of the King and his nobles by the acting Earl Marshal and Constable. Norfolk(1) now enters, and the King calls upon the Marshal to demand of Norfolk his name and the cause of his appearance(2) :

Marshal. "In God's name and the king's, say who thou art,
And why thou com'st thus knightly clad in arms :
Against what man thou com'st, and what's thy quarrel ?"(3)

Norfolk. "My name is Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk ;
Who hither come engaged by my oath,(4)
(Which heaven defend a knight should violate !)
Both to defend my loyalty and truth
To God, my king, and my succeeding issue,
Against the duke of Hereford that appeals me ;"

[Trumpet sounds](5).

Then the Earl Marshal goes through the same procedure with the appellant, who has just entered "plated in habiliments of war":(6)

Marshal. "What is thy name ? and wherefore com'st thou hither,
Before King Richard, in his royal lists ?
Against whom comest thou ? and what's thy quarrel ?"

(1) HOLINSHED records the entry of Bolingbroke before Norfolk, as was correct under the rules of combat.

(2) Note in *K. Lear* (V, 3) the combat commences with the Herald reading : —

"If any man of quality or degree, within the lists of the army, will maintain upon Edmund, supposed Earl of Gloster, that he is a manifold traitor, let him appear at the third sound of the trumpet : he is bold in his defence."

Then Albany directs the Herald, on the entrance of Edgar, to "Ask him his purposes, why he appears"

(3) Cf. The Duke of Gloucester's Rules : "The Constable schal axe hym what man he is whiche is comen armed to the gate of the listes. And what name he hathe and for what cause he is comen." *King Lear* (V, 3) :—*Herald.* "What are you ? your name, your quality ? and why you answer this present summons ?"

(4) *Ibid.* : "I am the whiche is comen to this jorney," etc., "for to doo," etc.

(5) SHAKESPEARE reserves the sound of trumpets for the entrance or presence of royal personages, great generals, proceedings in duels, arrival of public processions with royal persons in them, the arrival of royal heralds. There is one exception, viz., the arrival of Players in the *Taming of the Shrew* (NAYLOR, *Shakespeare and Music*, p. 168).

(6) SHAKESPEARE uses the words "plated" and "plate" similarly in *K. Lear*, IV, 6, and *Ant. and Cl.*, I, 1 ; plate armour replaced "mail."

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Bolingbroke. "Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
Am I ; who ready here do stand in arms,
To prove, by heaven's grace, and my body's valour,
In lists, on Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk,
That he's a traitor, foul and dangerous,
To God of Heaven, king Richard, and to me ;"(1)

Marshal. "On pain of death, no person be so bold,
Or daring-hardy, as to touch the lists,(2)
Except the marshal, and such officers
Appointed to direct these fair designs."

Marshal. "The appellant in all duty greets your highness,
And craves to kiss your hand, and take his leave."

The King here leaves his seat and receives the homage of Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke turns to Gaunt :—

"O thou, the earthly author of my blood,—

Add proof unto mine armour with thy prayers ;
And with thy blessings steel my lance's point,
That it may enter Mowbray's waxen coat(3),
And furbish new the name of John of Gaunt,"

(1) HOLINSHED has the following words : "I am Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, which am come hither to doo mine indeuor against Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolk, as a traitor untrue to God, the King, his realme, and me."

The champion at the coronation (a custom introduced by William the Conqueror) made the challenge through the herald, which included the words : "Here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor" (*Annual Register*, 1821, p. 386 ; *cf. N. & Q.*, 7th Ser., VII, 482 ; and VIII, 254). The champion did not appear at the coronation of Edward VII. or George V., because all ceremonial which took place in Westminster Hall (and the appearance of the champion was part of that ceremonial) was dispensed with. The champion's fees in the reign of Richard II. were "le meillour destrer ove trappure et le meillour armure du Roy forspris un, com'e sez auncestres. . . ." (*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I, 87).

(2) *Cf.* the Duke of Gloucester's Rules : "That non of gret valew and of litill estate be so hardy hens forewarde for to come negh the listes on pill of lesinge lyf and membre and ther goodes at the kinges wille."

(3) Some commentators say that "waxen" is a misprint, but the use of the word seems quite accurate when it is remembered that *cuir-bouilli* was used by the armed knight, and *cuir bouilli* was leather steeped in melted wax (*ante*, p, 27). That SHAKESPEARE had in his mind the dress of the armed knight may be gathered from the next line in his use of the word "furbish." *Cf. Macbeth*, I, 2, "furbish'd arms."

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The King orders the combat to commence:—

“Order the trial, marshal, and begin.”

Marshal. “Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
Receive thy lance ; and God defend the right !”

The 1st Herald then cries :—

“Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
Stands here for God, his sovereign, and himself,
On pain to be found false and recreant,(1)
To prove the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray,
A traitor to his God, his king, and him,
And dares him to set forward to the fight.”

The 2nd Herald similarly calls on Norfolk, after which the Earl Marshal cries :—

“Sound, trumpets ; and set forward, combatants. [*A charge sounded.*]
Stay, the king hath thrown his warder down.”(2)

The King, having stopped the combat, then banishes Norfolk for life and Bolingbroke “till twice five summers,” which he curtails immediately to “six frozen winters.” Norfolk, we learn from the Bishop of Carlisle, died in exile :—

“Many a time hath banish’d Norfolk fought
For Jesus Christ, in glorious Christian field,
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross,
Against black pagans, Turks and Saracens :
And, toil’d with works of war, retir’d himself
To Italy ; and there, at Venice, gave
His body to that pleasant country’s earth,
And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
Under whose colours he had fought so long.”(*Act IV, Sc. 1*).

(1) HOLINSHED : “Behold here Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, appellant, which is entred into the lists roiall to doo his deuoir against Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolk, defendant, *upon paine to be found false and recreant.*”

(2) It is curious that the Duke of Gloucester’s Rules make no mention of throwing down a warder “if the kinge wolde take the quarrell in his hande.” HOLINSHED records the use of the usual words “Let them go, let them go,” translating *laissez aller*. The Duke of Gloucester, in his Rules, has these words : “*lessiez lez aler et faire leur deuoir depdieu,*” that is to say, “lat them goo and doo ther deuour in goddes name.” HOLINSHED also notes that the heralds, after the warder was thrown, shouted “Ho, Ho.” FAVINE describes the warder as “a rod or wand guilded,” and adds that the heralds carried “rods or wands silvered” (*Theater of Honour*, Ed. 1623, p. 448). There is a miniature reproduced from *Harl. MS.* 4380, f. 141, in CORNISH, *Chivalry*, p. 101, which shows Mowbray taking up the gage of Bolingbroke before the King.

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SHAKESPEARE had then HOLINSHED and the other chronicles before him, and probably Gloucester's Rules. He must also have read *The Boke of the Fayt of Armes and Chivalrye*, printed by CAXTON in 1489, which was translated by order of Henry VII. from *Le Livre des faits et de Chevalerie*, written by CHRISTINE DE PISAN about 1405, and first printed in 1488(1). The fourth part of the book "speaketh of. . . . fighting within lists," which was taken, as well as most of her compilation, from *L'Arbre des Batailles* of HONORÉ BONET, written between 1382 and 1387, and first printed in 1477(2). CHRISTINE DE PISAN, in her prologue, thus apologises for her martial authorship: "O, Minerve, déesse d'armes et de chevalerie, ne te déplaïse ce que moy, simple femmelette ose présentement entreprendre à parler de sy magnifique office que est celui des armes," and excuses herself for her neglect of "quenoilles, fillaches et choses de maisnage."

Ceremonial
of the Court
of Chivalry.

DUGDALE prints from authorities the whole ceremonial of the combat by order of the Court of Chivalry, of which the final scene is thus depicted: If "the battaile be performed, and one party be vanquished, then in case of Treason the rayles of the lists are broken down; and the party vanquished is drawn out at a horse-tayl, and carryed presently to execution by the Marshal"(3). From the same authority we learn that should

(1) *Ante*, p. 72, n. 1.

(2) BONET's work was largely founded upon J. LEGNANO, *Tractatus de Bello*, written in 1360 at Bologna, where Bonet studied. *L'Arbre des Batailles* was only translated into one Teutonic language, viz., in 1456, and the MS., entitled *The Boke of the Law of Armys and the Boke of Batailis*. *translatit by me Gilbert of the Haye* (once in the library of Sir W. Scott), has been printed by the Scottish Text Society. BONET's work has been reprinted many times, and recently in 1882, when it was edited by E. NYS, who has also written and published all that is known about BONET, *vide v.n.* the bibliography printed in this volume.

(3) DUGDALE, *Origines Juridicales*, p. 78. Cf. the Duke of Gloucester's Rules:—"And yf the seyde batell of tres'on he that is convicte and discomfit schal be disarmed in

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the appellant or challenger not appear, the knight who is present rides about with the "picture of such dastard about him with exprobaton or his coat-armour reversed or ignominiously fastened under his horses-tayl, or with such like disgrace" (1).

The intervention of the King to stop the fight was of very ancient date, as may be learned from many of the accounts of old combats (2). In that between Giovanni Visconti and Thomas de la Marche in 1350, which was first mounted and then on foot, de la Marche endeavoured to finish off his opponent by means of pricks from the gadlings of his gauntlet, but Edward III., who was present, stopped the fight (3). Richard II. intervened between Sir John Annesley and Thomas

the listes bi the commaundement of the Constable and a corner of the lists broken in the reprove of him bi the whiche schal be drawn oute with hors for the same place there he is soo disarmed thorow the listis un to the place of justice where he schal be hedid or honged after the usage of the cuntre....." Cf. also KNIGHT's note to *Troilus and Cressida*, Act V, Sc. 9, l. 21 :—

Achilles. "Come, tie his body to my horse's tail ;
Along the field I will the Trojan trail."

(1) DUGDALE, *Origines Juridicales*, p. 76.

At the degradation of Sir Andrew Harclay, Earl of Carlisle, in the XIV. century, it is recorded : "Then commanded he (Sir Abney) to hewe his spurres from his heeles (with a cook's cleaver), then to break his sword over his head. unclothe him of his furred tabard, and of his hoode, of his coate of armes, and also of his girdle." (STOWE, *s.a.* 1322). SCOTT adds that the horse's tail was cut off, close to the rump, and thrown on a dunghill, and the death-bell tolled (*Essay on Chivalry*).

(2) Cf. the combats between Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and Otto, son of the Duke of Brunswick (WALSINGHAM, I, 279) ; Bertram Usana and Johan Bolome in 1407 (RYMER, VIII, 538-40) ; between Henry, Earl of Essex, and Robert De Montford, in 1163, when Essex was defeated, and upon his unexpected recovery was permitted by Hen. II. to become a professed monk (*Chr. Jocelini de Brakelonde*, f. 141) ; the combat between the Prior of Kilmainham and the Earl of Ormond in 1446 (*Minutes of Council*, VI, 5).

(3) STOWE, *s.a.* 1350, gives a long account taken from *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke* : "Post nempe hastiludii et pedestres congressus, luctando simul in aream profusi, Thomas quibusdam stimulis curtis et acutis quos manum dextram comprimendo digitorum nodi radicales e cirotecis laminatis expresserunt, et eos moderni vocant *gadelinges*, nudum Johannis faciem vulneravit, e contra Johannes nullum tormentum habuit ita curtum quo posset ledere faciem Thome ; et hinc, orribiliter ipso exclamante, regio precepto duellum cessavit" (Ed. by THOMPSON, 1889, p. 112).

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Katrington in 1380, where the combat is interesting, because it was a contest between a knight and an esquire, and therefore on foot. When the esquire was down his opponent, on the point of killing him, missed his footing. This gave a chance to the esquire, who seized it, but just as he was about to secure his advantage the King stopped the fight. The knight begged to be allowed to go on, provided he was put back into the same position (*i.e.*, as he fell on the ground), but meanwhile the esquire was dying of exhaustion(1).

Description
of celebrated
combats.

The reader will find in all the chronicles many descriptions of great combats, some of which have already been referred to(2), some, although in point of time before the days of the Court of Chivalry, were really more contests of honour than judicial combats; others again, termed *torneamenta quasi hostile*(3) were, more often than not, combats of chivalry; those between the Earl of Essex and Robert de Montford in 1163(4), Sohier Bernage and Bornette in 1405(5), and Guillaume Bariller and John Carrington in 1409(5), are very illustrative.

Coming to the XVI. century LA COLOMBIÈRE gives an account of a Spanish fight in 1522 before Charles V.(6), and BRANTÔME of that between La Châtaigneraye and de Jarnac in 1547 in the presence of Henri II. It was in this latter contest that de Jarnac twice made use of a particular stroke of the sword to cut the opponent under the knee, which

(1) WALSINGHAM, I, 118, 430 *et seqq.*

(2) *Ante*, pp. 70 (3), 72 (1), 73 *et seqq.*

(3) *Ante*, p. 47, and *post*, Ch. V.

(4) *Ante*, p. 79 (2).

(5) MONSTRELET, I, Ch. 23; I, Ch. 55. Cf. also LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, who gives numerous accounts, and particularly interesting are some, which took place in Spain according to the rules of Spanish chivalry (II, p. 308, 346-367; *Hopkinson Hist. MSS.*, Vol. XV.

(6) *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 406.

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he had learned in Italy(1). It was after this combat that Henri II. determined to grant no more royal licences for these fights(2). When the officially conducted combat ceased the duel already far from rare among the upper classes, rapidly became popular.

At a combat, as at a tournament, the herald was an important official; he aided the Marshal and Constable to conduct the fight; no detailed account of any combat fails to record the part he played(3). In 1547, when de Jarnac left the lists he went at once (as did Henri II. also) to Notre Dame(4) accompanied by the heralds. In 1523, at the religious service performed at the degradation of the Captain Franget—a funeral service, in fact(5)—it was the herald who, when the chants of the priests were over, removed each piece of armour from the traitor, crying “ceci le casque du lâche, ceci son corselet, ceci son buclier.” The herald received both fees and perquisites(6).

The duties
and fees of
the heralds.

(1) *Discours sur les Duels*, Ed. 1887, p. 126. There is an interesting engraving of the combat in LA COLOMBIÈRE, facing p. 415. Cf. also SLOWE, *s.a.*, 1492, the description of the contest between Sir J. Parker and Sir H. Vaughan, over a question of arms; the subject of combats concerning heraldry generally, and the form of the “patent of victorie”, issued by the Earl Marshal after the contest (SIR J. FERNE, *The Glorie of Generositie*, 1586, pp. 308 *et seqq.*).

(2) But in 1549 he allowed a formal combat between two nobles at Sedan, and later there was a notorious contest between the Sieur De Marolles and the Sieur De l'Isle-Marivaut, in which the latter was killed (BRANTÔME, Ed. 1887, p. 46).

(3) LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, etc., XIII, 420, printing LA COLOMBIÈRE, *De l'Office des Rois d'Armes*, etc.; *Ibid.*, VI, 455, printing from CALMET the account of the *gaige de bataille* between Roquelor and Bidots in 1482; *Coke's Institute*, Ch. XVII; SHAKESPEARE, *Richard II.*, Act I, Sc. 3; *King Lear*, V, 3).

(4) LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, XIII, 423, printing LA COLOMBIÈRE, *De l'Office des Rois d'Armes*, etc.

(5) *Ibid.*, XI, 52. Cf. the engraving and account of the degradation given in LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, II, p. 558, and the engraving in LACROIX, *Middle Ages*, Fig. 124. In LA COLOMBIÈRE is printed an old document detailing the ceremony of the degradation of a noble in 1496 (*loc. cit.*, II, 572).

(6) The Duke of Gloucester's Rules mention there: “The fee of the herawdes is all the poyntes and armour broken.” Cf. the claim of the Duke of Gloucester himself to the Great Horse of Sir T. Katrington, at the combat in 1380 (WALSINGHAM, I, 432).

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Illustrations of the scenes of combats from old MSS. are exceedingly interesting, illustrating the costume, the armour and the lists, and many have been reproduced, either in books reprinting MSS., or in histories dealing with the customs and manners of the Middle Ages.

Mr. NEILSON, in his *Trial by Combat*, enumerates the differences in ceremony between the trial by battle and the combat of chivalry. (a) Each combatant in the judicial combat handed a glove to the judge ; these gloves were exchanged and handed back, whereas in chivalry the challenger cast down his gauntlet. (b) A judicial combat could take place before any judge, but a combat in chivalry only before the King, Marshal, Constable, or their deputies. (c) In the judicial combat the defendant denied the charge, appeared first in the field, and was the first to be sworn ; exactly the opposite took place in a combat in chivalry. (d) The judicial combat was always on foot. (e) The parties stood north and south ; in the chivalry combat they faced east and west. (f) The judge could not stop a judicial combat. (g) The judicial combat came from the law, that of chivalry was its own invention.

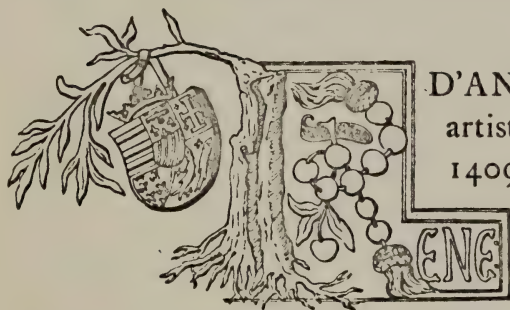




The History of the Tournament.

V.

THE TOURNAMENT IN THE XV. CENTURY.



D'ANJOU⁽¹⁾, a king of romance, artist and idealist, was born in 1409. He was a typical figure of his time when, in the early years of the XV. century, dawn broke and

touched with the transforming rays of the Renaissance the whole life of Western Europe, roused from the slumber of the Middle Ages. The Roi René writes and illustrates with his

(1) RENÉ D'ANJOU (b. 1409, d. 1480), bore the titles of King of Jerusalem and of Sicily, Duke d'Anjou and de Bar, Comte de Barcelona and de Provence. René himself took part in tournaments: "René s'estoit grandement plû à la Joute, il se trouvait presque tousiours en ces occasions, où il faisoit tellement paroistre sa vertu et son adresse, qu'il gaignoit le plus souvent le prix" (RUFFI, *Histoire des Comtes de Provence*, p. 395). At his tournament, *L'Emprise de la Gueule du Dragon*, at Saumur, in 1446, when in black armour, in memory of the recent death of his queen, a contemporary poet records his winning of the prize:—

"Armé, tout noir obscurément
Fut de housure pareillement,
Et d'armes fit tant largement,
Que le prix on luy envoya."

(cited in LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Théâtre d'Honneur*, I, p. 81.)

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own hand his *Traicté de la Forme et Devis d'un Tournoy*(1), the most interesting of all authorities on the tournament of the XV. century. His MS. has been printed and miniatures reproduced, a MS. of which DIBDIN wrote, when he saw it: "Be my pulse calm and my wits composed, as I essay the description of this marvellous volume."(2)

*Traicté de la
Forme et
Devis d'un
Tournoy.*

The imaginary tournament, which the Roi René describes, commences with the arrival of the heralds of a great reigning noble at the court of another reigning noble to present a challenge, and with it a roll of the names of the knights and judges. The names of the judges, the place where the tournament is to be held, and many other details, are next agreed. The tournament is then proclaimed in various countries, and their knighthood invited to take part in it. René describes and illustrates the armour, the weapons, the bardings, and the lists. Then follow the descriptions of the entry into the town, where the tournament is to take place, of the knights and their chiefs, under whose "pennons" they are to fight; the inhabitants of the town are ordered to decorate their windows with banners(3). One particular house is chosen for the feasting and dancing. On the second day the helmets of the knights,

(1) The following are the printed editions of the MS. (a) *Appendix VIII, post*, p. lxxvii; (b) QUATREBARBES, *Oeuvres du Roi René*, Paris, 1849, with engravings of the miniatures in outline; (c) CHAMPOLLION, Paris, fo., 1827, with coloured reproductions of the miniatures; (d) DU VERDY DE VERNOIS, *Recherches sur les Carrousel, Anc. et Mod.*, Cassel (1774); (e) LEBER, *Coll. des Dissertations*, XIII, 28; (f) LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, I, 49, containing the engravings of many of the miniatures and most of the text. Cf. also *Remembrance of Shakespeare's England*, 1912, with the reproduction of the miniature of the tourney. All the miniatures are reproduced in colour in PROST, *Traicté de la Forme et Devis comme on Faict les Tournois*, Ed. 1878.

(2) *Tour in France and Germany*, II, pp. 95-99.

(3) The proclamation "que vous estes tenus vous rendre és haberges le iiij^e jour devant le jour dudit Tournoy, pour faire de vos blazons fenestres" (*Appendix VIII*, p. lxxi). The "demande" for a tournament in the year 1356 by Geoffrey de Charni mentions that after crying the tournament, "on faisait fênêtres" (MENESTRIER, *De la*

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each with its crest, are exhibited in a special "hôtel," that the "dames et damoiselles" and the judges may "bien veoir et visiter les timbres," and this was the opportunity to expel from the tournament anyone guilty of any act unworthy of a knight of chivalry. On the third day after the swearing of the knights a *chevalier d'honneur* is chosen, who is to bear on his lance the *couvre-chef de mercy*(1); by touching any knight in difficulty in the tourney with it, he can prevent at once any further attack upon him. On the fourth day is the tourney. On the cry of *lapez heaulmes*, the knights take up their positions under the pennon of their chief, and all proceed to the lists. Across the centre of the lists are stretched two cords, and one of the miniatures(2) shows the lists and the knights ready to begin on the cry of "soiez prests pour cordes couper, vous qui estes à ce commis," followed by "coupez cordes et hurtez batailles quant vous vouldrez." During the tourney the supporters of each noble shout their "Cris d'armes"(3). At the sound of the "retraite" the tourney

Chevalerie, Anc. et Mod., Ed. 1683, p. 183). In a MS. describing the tournament at Huy, near Liège, in 1289, we read:

"Del Tournoy commencher fut presigé le jour
La vesprée deuant li blason de lantour
Ci furēt aux fenestres attachiez sans freiour
Illec y ont blasons de plusieurs Coulours."

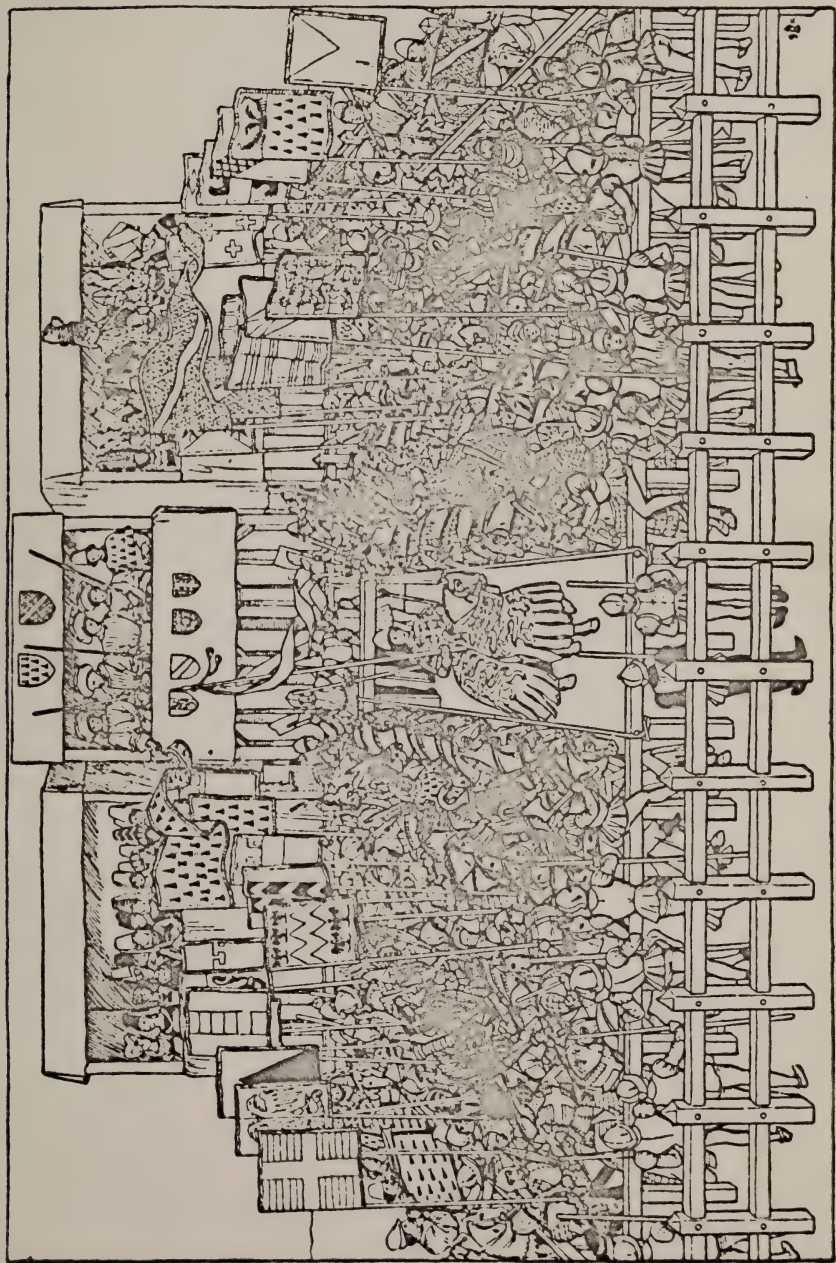
Then follow the descriptions of the knights' armorial devices. This quotation is from MENESTRIER, *L'Art du Blason*, etc., Ed. 1672, p. 382. The author adds "on voit par ces vers que le blason n'estoit pas fixé en ce temps-là, puisque le Comte de Douay en changeoit souvent, et le Comte de Namur en prit depuis un autre" (*Ibid.*, 384).

(1) "Une espèce de coëffe, enrichie de broderies de paillettes et de franchises d'or (Du VERDY DE VERNOIS, *Recherches sur les Carrouels*, etc., 1784, at p. 81).

(2) Reproduced, *post*, p. 86.

(3) ST. PALAYE describes the heralds urging on the combatants with their cries of "Honneur aux fils des preux," "l'amour des Dames," "Louenge et pris aux Chevaliers qui s'outiennent les griefs, faits et armes par qui valeur hardement et prouesse est guaige en sang mêlé de sucre" (*L'Ancienne Chevalerie*, Ed. 1759, I, p. 99).

SCOTT, perhaps, went to St. Palaye for some of his graphic touches in the tournament scene in *Ivanhoe*; for instance, the shouts of the spectators.



Comment le Seigneur Appelant et le Seigneur Défendant assemblent au Tournoy.

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ceases. In the evening all assemble for the feast and for the award of the prize to the "chevalier mieux frappant d'espée." As he receives his prize the building echoes with his "cri," (1) and so ends the tournament (2).

René d'Anjou allowed his fancy to play in the setting of his tournaments, as we see in his *Emprise de la Gueule du Dragon* (3), held at Saumur in 1446, where there was erected in the lists the special gallery for the ladies of the Court, "le chateau de la joyeuse garde," over which presided the beautiful Jeanne de Laval (4).

Three years later took place *Le Pas de la Bergière*, a tournament in which all the setting was pastoral. The gallery was a thatched cottage, "une gente pastourelle" (again Jeanne de Laval) was seen "gardant ses brebiettes," two knights, the challengers, were shepherds, "deux gentils escuiers pastoureux," and on the tree of honor hung their two shields, black and white, *tristesse* and *liesse*. It was held

Emprise de la Gueule du Dragon, 1446.

Le Pas de la Bergière, maintenu au Tournoi de Tarascon, held 1st June, 1449.

(1) The particular "cri" was that of the chief noble under whom the knight fought. It varied in case of a younger son by the addition of a word (Du CANGE, *Dissertation XI, Du Cry d'Armes* and *De l'usage du Cry d'Armes*, Ed. 1887, X, 38, 44).

(2) Besides the miniatures in this MS., cf. those in *Harl. MSS.* 4431, f. 152; and 4379, f. 19, reproduced in CORNISH, *Chivalry*, p. 94.

(3) *L'Emprise de la Gueule du Dragon et celle du Chateau de la Joyeuse garde*, ou le Pas et Joute, maintenue par le Roi René de Sicile, en faveur des Dames, proche de Saumur, avec les magnificences et les ceremonies qui y furent observées: Et le nom, les armes et le cimier de tous ceux qui y joustèrent, tant les Tenants que les Assaillans (QUATREBARBES, *Oeuvres du Roi René*, Paris, 1849, Vol. I, p. lxxvi; LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, Vol. I, p. 81).

(4) This *emprise* was secretly arranged by the Roi René for Jeanne de Laval, whom he subsequently married in 1455 (RUFFI, *Hist. des Comtes de Provence*, p. 396). It was at this tournament that the Roi René came in black, because of his country's misfortunes: "Armé d'armes toutes noires, son Escu de sable semé de larmes, et une lance noire en main: son cheval estait housé et caparassonné de mesme" (MENESTRIER, *L'Art du Blason*, etc., Ed. 1672, p. 169). *Vide ante*, p. 85 (n.).

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at Tarascon, whither René had gone on one of his royal progresses. At the close the herald spoke thus :

“ A tous nobles et gentis chevaliers
Et escuiers qui pour plaisance avoir
En armes tous les beaux fais tiennent chiers,
Ou s'en mettent à faire leur devoir,
On fait icy maintenant assavoir
Que le pas de la noble pastourelle.

.

De deux pastours à tout homme venant
L'un aprez l'autre, on doit icy finir ” (ll. 949-960).

The tournament was followed, as always, by feasting and dancing, after which the shepherdess gave the prize to the winner, and the fête closed with the cry of the herald, “ largesse aux pastoureaux.” The account of this tournament is preserved in a MS. “*Le Pas de la Bergière*,” written in verse by LOYS DE BEAUVAU, one of the knights who justed(1).

Another authority on the tournament of the XV. century is OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE, chronicler and poet of the school of Froissart(2). He describes the *Pas d'Armes* at Ghent of 1469(3), and here let us note that all these justs and tourneys are at this date generally termed “Pas.” As in the *Pas de la Bergière*, three years before, we have the setting from the Romances

(1) *Le Pas d'Armes de la Bergère, maintenu au Tournoi de Tarascon*, publié d'après le Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Roi, avec un précis de la chevalerie et des tournois, et la relation du carrousel exécuté à Saumur, etc., le 20 Juin 1828, par G. A. CRAPELET, Paris, 1828. It is also printed in QUATREBARBES, *Oeuvres du Roi René*, 1849, II, 43.

(2) Born 1426, died 1502. He spent his life attached to the Court of the Dukes of Burgundy.

(3) *Traicté d'un Tournoy tenu a Gand, par Claude de Vauldray, seigneur de l'Aigle, l'an 1469*, by OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE. Printed in PROST, *Traictés du Duel Judiciaire, Relations de Pas d'Armes et Tournois*, 1872, 8vo, p. 55; vide also OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE, *Memoires*, which gives many accounts of tournaments from 1435 to 1475. His *Traité de la Manière de célébrer la Noble Fête de la Toison d'Or* has not been printed.

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introduced(1). At the close feasting, dancing and “mommies de diverses fachons” take place(2).

The account of the *Pas des Armes de Sandricourt*, held in 1493, has been printed(3). This fête took place at the Château of Louis de Hédouville. No feature of chivalry was neglected; on the fourth day of the fête the knights, accompanied by their ladies, set off “comme chevalliers errans querans là leurs aventures, ainsi que jadis firent les chevalliers de la Table Ronde.” There on the wild plains in quest of high adventure they were to answer the call of Romance.

There is in existence a very interesting MS. entitled the *Declarac'on du Pas à l'Arbre d'Or*(4). It is in French, and appears to be of the year 1468. This *Pas* took place at the marriage of the Duke of Burgundy with Margaret, sister of Edward IV. and Richard III., and is fully described in the *Mémoires* of OLIVIER DE LA MARCHE(5). Reference should also be made to GODEFROY, *Le Cérémonial François*(6), where the *Pas et Joustes* held at the coronation of Louis XII. in 1498, are detailed. They took place where tournaments had

Pas des Armes de Sandricourt, 1493.

Pas à l'Arbre d'Or, 1468.

Pas at the coronation of Louis XII. in 1498.

(1) The “grant plaine de Plaisance” (the lists) is situated between “le chateau de Beaulté et la noble montaigne de Grâce.” The defender of the lists is wounded and taken to “l'ermitage de Bel Acoeil,” where he is tended by a wild beauty, the “Dame Sauvage.” He quits her and wanders in “les pénibles désers de Pensées” and the “mercescaiges d'Imaginations,” where he composes the *Pas d'Armes* (*Ibid.*, pp. 58–60).

(2) Cf. also *Des Anciens Tournois et Faictz d'Armes* (par Messire Antoine de la Sale, b. 1398, d. 1461), printed *Ibid.*, pp. 193–221.

(3) A. VAYSSIÈRE, Paris, 1874, sm. 4to. In the Bibl. Nat., Paris, are preserved two copies of a printed edition of very early date in Gothic type, each with miniatures inserted in the text, which differ in the two copies. The illustrations in the reprint of 1874 are from the miniatures of one of these copies. They illustrate fighting at the barriers, justing at the tilt and the tourney. In one drawing is depicted a knight piercing with his sword his opponent in the *vif du harnois*.

(4) *Appendix VI*, p. lv.

(5) Ed. 1616, pp. 531–586; cf. also *Archæologia*, XXXI, p. 337; BENTLEY, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 223.

(6) Ed. 1544, I, 244.

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often been held before—were often held in later years—in the Rue St. Antoine, near the Hôtel de Tournelles⁽¹⁾. At one end of the lists was erected a large lily flower, and to each petal



Scene at a Tournament by Domenico Morone.

was attached a shield ; near by was a gallery for the heralds to record the names of the challengers and answerers⁽²⁾.

(1) *Ante*, p. 20 ; *post*, p. 103.

(2) References to many tournaments held in France, Germany, Italy and the Low Countries, will be found in LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, I, 227 et seqq. ; TRUFFI, *Giostre e cantori di Giostre, studie recherche di storia e di Litteratura*, 1911, giving

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All through the XV. century justing continued to be one of the great sports of the court(1) and nobility; but, as if to counterbalance the waning fierceness of the tournament, there still took place *torneamenta quasi hostile* and combats of chivalry, now limited to the combat on foot.

A perusal of the MSS. of RENÉ D'ANJOU shows very clearly the complete change which had taken place in the tournament since its early days. "So the tournament," to quote JUSSE-
 "had its rules and ceremonials most perfectly carried out in complicated form, couched in that flamboyant style which appealed to the masters of the art. It had attained perfection, so now must flicker to its end like the flamboyant style itself, supreme expression of the Gothic on the eve of its death. Musicians played their minstrelsy, poets recited their lays, knights marvellously beplumed justed and charged, their horse bardings scintillating with gold. Radiant ladies smiled pensively.

M. JUSSE-
 RAND on the
 decay of the
 old tour-
 nament.

the history, literature and transcriptions of many MSS. on Italian tournaments. SHAKESPEARE, in 2 *Hen. VI.*, Act 1, Sc. 3, refers to a tournament held at Tours, when the terms of peace between England and France were settled and the marriage of Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI. was arranged:

Q. Marg. "I tell thee, Poole, when in the city Tours
 Thou ran'st a tilt in honour of my love."

But may not this tournament have been the one held at Nancy, where the betrothal took place (in the autumn of the same year, c. 1445), when Suffolk was sent there to take part in the ceremonies described in QUATREBARBES, *Roi René*, I, lxx?

LUIGI PULCI, who died in 1490, wrote the poem, *Giostra di Lorenzo de' Medici messa in rima*, on the tournament given by L. de Medicis in 1468 in Florence, in which he carried off the prize. It has been printed and edited by C. CAROCCI, Bologna, 1899.

(1) There are many records of payments out of the Privy purse for tournaments, cf. BENTLEY, *Excerpta Historica*, anno 1494: "To the Challengers at the Justes, £66 13s. 4d., to the Defenders at the Justes, £66 13s. 4d." (p. 99). Others, too, were obliged to help. In the Middle Temple *Minutes of Parliament*, in 1501, there is an entry: "*Item*, For diverse expenses incurred by the Company, at the arrival of Lady Katherine de Espanea at Westminster, to have a place to see the jousts (le justis) it was resolved that there should be a subsidy collected from all, from each member, 12d."

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Far away were the rude battles of Philippe Auguste and Henry Plantagenet, fought on the open field. Beautiful fêtes were these, in spite of blows wounds and deaths. Beautiful as the illuminations of an old manuscript, realistic as miniatures touched with life. 'Too exquisite to last' exclaims popular wisdom. True, alas! In the midst of this orderly splendour the tournament was doomed. The future was to those justs with their rules on which the brave knights of the past had looked with such contempt"(1). At the end of the century a lover of chivalry prints the *Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, or Knyghthoode, Translated oute of Frensshe into Englysshe at a requeste of a gentyl and noble esquier by me William Caxton*(2). Read how CAXTON, in his own words, laments:

"O ye knights of England, where is the custom and usage of noble chivalry that was used in those days? What do ye now, but go to the baynes and play at dice? Leave this, leave it! and read the noble volumes of St^t Graal, of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Trystram, of Perse Forest, of Percyval, of

(1) JUSSEMAND, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France*, p. 98. As to the greater honour belonging to the tourney, cf. DU CANGE, *Appendix II*, *post*, p. xiv. SCOTT in *Ivanhoe* makes Wamba cry: "It was better to be the best man among a hundred than the best man of two."

(2) In 1484, and not reprinted until 1892, when W. MORRIS issued his beautiful little quarto edition. Several MSS. of the French text exist. There is one in the Brit. Mus., *Fr. Roy 14, E. 16*, part of a fo. vol. said to have been made for Ed. IV. The work is not to be confused with *L'Ordene de Chevalerie*, a French poem of the XIII. cent., and likewise printed and translated by W. MORRIS. *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* was first printed in 1759 by M. Barbazan, and again in the *Fabliaux et Contes* in 1808, from a text in MS. vol. 25462, fo. 149-157, in the Bib. Nat. in Paris. The *Ordre de Chevalerie*, attributed to the XIV. cent. is far longer, and although the writer may have been influenced by *L'Ordene de Chevalerie*, yet the ceremonies of knighthood must have been common knowledge earlier than the date of the poem. The *Ordre de Chevalerie* was first printed in 1504, at Lyons, as part of *le Jeu des Eschez moralise*, when it was erroneously put forth as the work of Symphorien Champier (p. 148).

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Gawayn, and many more : there shall ye see manhood, courtesy, and gentleness. And look in latter days of the noble acts sith the conquest, as in King Richard's days, Cœur du Lyon, Edward the First, and the Third, and his noble sons, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir John Hawkwode, Sir John Chandos, and Sir Gualtiere Manny. Read Froissart Alas ! what do ye, but sleep and take ease, and are all disordered from chivalry ? I would demand a question if I should not displease—How many knights be there now in England that have the use and the exercise of a knight ? That is to wit, that he knoweth his horse, and his horse him I would it pleased our sovereign Lord, that twice or thrice a year, or at least once, he would cry jousts of peace, to the end that every knight should have horse and harness, and also the use and craft of a knight, and also to torneoye one against one, or two against two(1)"

Henceforward the just becomes increasingly popular. It is the image of the combat, as the tourney was that of the battle ; as with the tourney so with the just, as the pageantry of its ceremonial increases its dangers lessen. In the description of the justs at Arras in 1429 *Monstrelet*(2) mentions the introduction of a barrier called "the tilt,"(3) on either side of which the combatants rode, an innovation which had greatly lessened the danger. As we proceed in the century the object of the juster is to splinter a lance and not to

The just.
The introduction of
the tilt.

(1) AMES, *Typographical Antiquities*, Ed. 1810, I, 225.

(2) "Et étoit préparé un grand parc couvert de sablon, au milieu duquel avoit une lice garnie d'aisselles afin que les chevaux ne se pussent rencontrer l'un l'autre." Ed. by BUCHON, Vol. V, Ch. LXXXI. This is the earliest record of a tilt.

(3) Tilt, in French "*toile*," was originally a cloth hung on a rail, subsequently a close-boarded barricade five feet high. Note the use to-day of the expression "*waggon-tilt*," the canvas covering ; also the name "tilt-guard," still used at the Horse-Guards, of which the Parade was the *locus* of the permanent tilt.



Sir John Astley justing at the tilt.
(From the Hastings MS.)

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unhorse his adversary, and hence the decreasing weight of the lances used(1).

In English we have two MSS. of a collection of Ordinances of Chivalry, which include descriptions of justs of the XV. century. They are copies of part of an earlier MS. known as the "Grete Booke,"(2) which has disappeared. The earlier of these two MSS. is called the *Hastings MS.*(3) and the later the *Lansdowne MS.*(4). The date of the latter is 1470, and probably the former is only a little earlier, if we may judge from the armour of some of the miniatures. Sir John Astley died in 1485, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he had the *Hastings MS.* transcribed from the "Grete Booke" for himself when he was about 57 years of age, for we know it once belonged to him.

English authorities of the XV. century. The *Hastings*, *Lansdowne*, and *Harl. MSS.*

The former contains very interesting miniatures depicting justs of peace and *torneamenta quasi hostile*, the latter being those which took place in Paris between John Astley and

(1) "Rosmital, Seigneur de Bohême, qui visita Philippe le Bon en 1446, note qu'on se servait alors, à la cour de Bourgogne, de lances tout à fait légères, *hastis utuntur admodum tenuibus*" (Jusserand, *Sports, etc., dans l'ancienne France*, p. 106, citing authority).

(2) "The Grete Booke" is mentioned in a letter written by one William Ebesham to Sir John Paston, applying for payment for copying part of the *Lansdowne MS.*, in 1470: "To my moost worshupfull maister, Sir John Paston, Knyght I recomande (me) unto your gode maistirship, besechyng you most tendirly to see me sumwhat rewardid for my labour in the Grete Booke which I wright unto your soide gode maistirship your verry man, W. Ebesham, 9. Ed. IV." He encloses an account containing the following items: "*Item*, as to the Grete Booke, *First*, for wrytyng of the coronacion and other tretys of Knyghthode in that quaire which conteyneth a xiii levis and more, iij*d.* a lef ijs. iij*d.* *Item*, for the Chalengs and the Acts of Armes, which is xxviii levs iij*js.* viij*d.* *Item*, for Rubrisheing of all the booke iij*js.* iij*d.* (*Paston Letters*, No. 596).

(3) The *Hastings MS.* has been almost entirely printed in *Archaeologia* (LVII, Pt. I, 29), with photogravures of the miniatures; the notes are by Viscount DILLON. It had been previously partly printed with notes by ALBERT WAY, in *Arch. J.*, IV, 226-239. The MS. is of the XV. cent. Its first owner was Sir John Astley, whose justs it describes and whose heaume and crest is depicted in two of the miniatures.

(4) *Appendix V*, pp. xxxi *et seqq.*, where it is in part printed. It is also to be read in *Archaeologia*, XVII, 290, and in MEYRICK, *Antient Armour*, II, 154.

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Pierre de Masse in 1428, and in Smithfield(1) between John Astley and Phillip Boyle in 1441-2(2). This John Astley must have been a man of great address in the just, and not improbably a type of bully like the expert duellist of later days. In these contests he killed both Pierre de Masse and Phillip Boyle. In the miniatures, the crests on the heaumes, the sharp-headed and rebated lances, with vamplates and grapers, are particularly to be noticed. There is another MS. of nearly equal interest, entitled *The Booke of Certaine Triumphes*(3). In it is preserved the *Proclamation* of the Justs, held in 1477, in honour of the marriage of Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV. and Anne Mowbray; the bridegroom not yet five and the bride not three years old. The Articles of these justs to be run in *Osting-Harneis alonge a Tilt* were to be "sett up at the gate of the King's Palace," "in Cheape," and "upon London Bridge," and the justers for the different events recognised by the "tokens in their shields and guardbrases."

The Justs
of Peace
between
Lord Scales
and the
Bastard of
Burgundy in
1467.

Another well-known contest of this character, "done purely for the pleasure of the Court," took place in 1467 between Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, eldest son of Earl Rivers, and the Bastard of Burgundy. Lord Scales, who was about 23 years of age, was coming away from attending High Mass when the ladies of the Court, "placed

(1) St. Bartholomew's is shown in the distance. It is said that one of the windows in the old tower, now no more, was built to represent a gallery in the lists.

(2) The *Hastings* and *Lansdowne MSS.* give the challenges of the Astley-Masse and Boyle combats in old English (*Appendix V, post*, p. xxxv). The Articles of Combat are given in Latin from old MSS. by LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, II, pp. 311-12. These articles should be compared with those of the tournament held at Dijon in 1443, which are printed in full in MONSTRELET (Ed. BUCHON, VII, Ch. CCLXX, p. 210).

(3) *Harl. MS.* 69 (1 to 24). In part printed in *Appendix VI, post*, p. xliii et seqq.

a gold "collar" on his thigh with a *flower of Sourvenaunce*. This was their request to him to perform some great act of chivalry, which he swore, probably by "cock and pye," to perform(1). He challenged the Bastard of Burgundy(2), declaring that he "have resceyvid by the ladies the gyft of a Riche Coler of golde, and in that hangyng a noble Souvenaūce; the which of their grace have takyn and set it upon my right thigh. The which Souvenaunce, by Goddes pleasure, congie and licence of the Kyng my soveraigne, I have takyn the charge for emprise to fournysshe and accomplishe, with the helpe of God, the Armes that folowith"(3). The answer to the challenge, the ceremonial of "touching" the *emprise* fill 42 pages of close print, and the whole story is most interesting to every student of the manners of the time. In one of these contests the King "cast his staff" to stop the combat; for, as he said: "It was done to pleasure the King of England, he would not suffer the combat to continue fierce for any time, so that it served rather for pastime"(4).

(1) "In the days of ancient chivalry it was the practice to make solemn vows for the performance of any considerable enterprize. The ceremony was usually performed during some grand feast, at which a roasted peacock, being served up by ladies, in a dish of gold or silver, was thus presented to each knight, who then with great solemnity made the particular vow which he had chosen. When the custom had fallen into disuse, the peacock continued to be a favourite dish in a pie, proudly elevated above the crust . . . hence probably the oath "by cock and pie" (Douce's note to "By Cock and Pye," 2 Hen. IV., v, 1). But cf. ONIONS, *A Shakespeare Glossary*, s.n. "cock."

(2) BENTLEY, *Excerpta Historica*, pub. 1831, pp. 171-212; *Harl MS.* 4632, fo. 88; *Lansdowne MS.* 285, fo. 183; BENTLEY (*loc. cit.*) prints *verbatim* nearly all the portions of the *Lansdowne MS.* dealing with this combat, both in French and English. The *lacunae* in the *Lansdowne MS.* are supplied from the *Harl.* and *Arundel MSS.* See also *Mémoires de Messire Olivier de la Marche* (Ed. 1616), p. 491.

(3) BENTLEY, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 180. "Lors que le requérant arrache par force l'Emprise . . . il faut combattre à toute ouurance . . . mais lors qu'il y touche simplement c'est pour un simple combat d'honneur et de chevalerie (LA COLOMBIÈRE, *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, II, 318).

(4) During the combat on foot the Bastard was nearly thrown down by the force of a blow by Lord Scales with his axe, and it was at this point that the King stopped the fight. The Bastard wished to continue, but when he heard that the decision of the

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The Royal
Ordinances
for justs
made by
JOHN, LORD
TIPTOFT,
EARL
OF WOR-
CESTER, in
6 Ed. IV.

It is not surprising to find that at this period there were Royal Ordinances, "commanded to bee observed and kept in all maner of Justs of Pece Royall." They are to be read in many old MSS. which have been often printed(1). These rules were written by John, Lord Tiptoft and Earl of Worcester. It was of Tiptoft, scholar of Balliol, the first typical Italianate Englishman, "the Butcher of England," of whom CAXTON wrote "he in his time flowered in virtue and cunning: to whom I knew none like among the lords of the temporalty in science and moral virtue"(2). Writing in 1470, nearly two hundred years later, of his execution, FULLER paid this tribute to his memory in his *Worthies of England*: "Then did the axe at one blow cut off more learning than was left in the heads of all the surviving nobility"(3).

Dukes of Clarence and Norfolk was that he must recommence in the same position in which he left off, he abandoned the contest. Scales was beheaded without trial in 1483. During imprisonment he translated (a) *Les Ditz Moraux des Philosophes* (*The Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophres*, the first book printed in England by Caxton); (b) from the French, *The Book named Cordiale; or Memorare Novissima: which treateth of "The Last Four Things,"* and (c) *Les Proverbes Moraux et la Prudence par Christine de Pisan*, under the title of *The Morale Prouerbes of Christyne*, printed by Caxton in 1478, who adds:—

"Go thou litil quayer and recomaund me
Unto the good grace of my special Lorde
Therle Ryueris, for I have imprinted the
At his comaundement, folowyng euery worde
His cople, as his secretaire can recorde.
At Westmestre, of feuerer the xx. daye
And of Kyng Edward the XVII. yere vraye."

Cf. *ante*, p. 78, as to Christine de Pisan and her work on chivalry and combats in lists. It was in prison, too, that SIR THOMAS MALORY, a knight in the great Warwick's retinue, probably wrote his *Morte d'Arthur*, the book from which Englishmen and English authors have learned to understand the chivalry of the Middle Ages.

(1) Printed in *Appendix IV*, *post*, p. xxvii; HARRINGTON, *Nugae Antiquae*, Ed. 1804, I, 1; WALPOLE, *Misc. Antiq.*, Ed. 1772, p. 21; CRIPPS-DAY, *Remembrance of the Triumph, Shakespeare's England*.

(2) CAXTON's *Declaracyon* in TIPTOFT's translation of *Tullius his Book of Friendship*, etc., printed by CAXTON, 1481, fo.

(3) The following works are also attributed to him: *Caesar's Commentaries*; *Orders for the placing of the Nobility in all Proceedings*; *Petition against the Lollards*;

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RENÉ D'ANJOU describes in his *Traicté*(1) the special armour to be worn for the tourney, and he names and illustrates (a) the crest of *cuir-bouilly* of the "heaulme en façon d'ung bacinet ou d'une cappeline réservé que la visière

The tilting harness of the XV. and XVI. centuries.



How a man schaff be armyd at his est
 vhen he schal fighte on foote

est autrement"; (b) the body armour "comme une cuirasse ou comme un harnois à pied qu'on appelle *tonnelet*," or a brigandine; (c) the arm defences of "gardebras, avantbras

An Oration to the Citizens of Padua. More of his MSS., once in the Lincoln Cathedral, have been lost. This cathedral library has been twice pillaged, through the carelessness of its custodians.

(1) *Ante*, p. 84; *Appendix VIII*, post, p. lxvii et seqq.

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et gantelez" in steel or *cuir-bouilly*. The *Hastings* and *Lansdowne MSS.* give more detailed descriptions in the *Abilmentis for the Justus of Pees*(1) for a mounted contest, and *How a man shalbe armede at his ease when he shall fight on foote*(1); they furnish most interesting documents for the study of the armour of the period(2), and of the putting on of the knight's harness by his esquire; like the arming of the hawk, the esquire begins "at his fete and goo upwarde as Knyghttis been harnesssed and armeed"(3). The *Hastings MS.* also gives a miniature, perhaps copied from that of the original MS., with which it was probably contemporary; it is here reproduced. A French MS., throwing perhaps more light on early justing armour, has been printed in *Appendix IX*(4). It describes the armour of 1446, and more particularly the heaume, with its three attachments to the breast and back plates, the large bridle gauntlet protecting the left hand to three or four fingers' breadth beyond the elbow, fitted with a ring to secure it to another ring on the left side of the breastplate. The placate is made immoveable for justing. The upper left arm and the bend of the elbow are protected by what appears to be an early form of pass-guard. On the left side is worn a wooden shield attached by means of *crampon* and *poire*. A *gaynpayn* covers the right hand; the right fore-arm and the lower part of the right upper arm are guarded by the

(1) These are transcribed from the *Lansdowne MS.* in *Appendix V*, p. xxxiii. The absence of leg armour is to be noted in the harness for a mounted contest, and the use of "a peire of Jambus" attached to the saddle. For detailed explanatory notes read Viscount Dillon's notes on the *Hastings MS.* (*Archaeologia*, LVII, Pt. 1, p. 41).

(2) Probably of about 1440-1450, some twenty years before the date when the MS. was copied, for it is to be noted that no extra pieces are mentioned.

(3) *The Boke of Saint Albans*, of 1486.

(4) The MS. has been printed in BELLEVAL, *Du Costume Militaire des Français en 1446*, Paris, 1866, 4to.

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epaule de mouton(1), above der-piece and rerebrace. a rondel. But happily English armour of the period, which so well illustrates the effigy of Richard Beauchamp "the *Fadre of Curtesye*"(2), by English craftsmen(3), of a very graceful period of Italian Gothic

(1) This piece, termed in the miniature (c. 1480) in *Nero D.*, IX, 39 (HEWITT,

(2) "And the emperor Christen for wisdom, nurknyght as he had of therle curtesye was lost, yet myght geyn in hym; and so ever rour's auctoritie he was of *Curtesye*" (JOHN ROUS, of Richard Beauchamp, Earl



which is a laminated shoulder-piece. Over the right armpit is a large piece of mail. The land is rich, not only in brasses and effigies, but also in brasses and effigies. The gilded brass effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, made in 1453, and modelled in a very graceful period of Italian Gothic armour. It is, moreover,

English *polder-miton*, is well shown in "*Hist. de J. de Saintré*," *Cott. MS.*, *Ancient Armour*, III, Plate 94).

saide to the Kyng that no prince ture, and manhode, hadde such another Warrewyk; addyng thereto that if al hit be founde a-after the emperour's auctoritie he was of *Curtesye*" (JOHN ROUS, of Richard Beauchamp, Earl

(3) By Will. Austen, citizen and founder, of London, and Thomas Stevyns, copper-smith. It was finished and gilt by Bartholomew Lambespring, a Dutchman and goldsmith of London. *Vide* DUGDALE, *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, 1730, I, 445; GOUGH, *Description of the Beauchamp Chapel*, 1809, p. 9.

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a great work of art and especially interesting, because the Earl of Warwick was renowned in war and tournament. We see him depicted in a MS.(1), in which his life is recounted, fighting side by side with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, against the Duke of Burgundy and others. In another miniature, in the same MS., he is justing with a "myghty duke" before the Emperor Sigismund and his Empress, when he killed his opponent. He is wearing a great heaume with his crest, "the rampant bear chained to the ragged staff."

But for a suit of armour, no more beautiful specimen exists in England than the one of French workmanship, of about 1460-1480, in the Wallace Collection. Here can be pictured the noble knight in armour; each piece of his harness is remarkable for its beauty of line(2). We now approach a period when this grace was lost, partly owing to the desire to lessen the danger of the just, and partly to the hope that armour might be made a defence against the increasing power of fire-arms. By 1440 in England, armourers had begun to build the defences of the right and left sides of the body differently, and gradually piece after piece is altered or added, so that the symmetry of the best form of Gothic armour disappears little by little. Curiously, loss of form is accompanied

(1) *Cott. MSS., Julius E., IV.* This MS. has been printed, and its miniatures reproduced in STRUTT, *Manners and Customs*, Vol. II, by the *Roxburghe Club*, and in DILLON and ST. JOHN HOPE, *Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G.*, 1389-1439. The drawings are supposed to have been made by John Rous, chantry priest and Warwickshire antiquary, who died in 1492. The period assigned to the MS. is Richard III. Other miniatures show the Earl fighting on foot in lists with Pandolph Malatesta, where "Lorde Galast," with his warder, is shown presiding.

(2) The illustration of it given *ante*, p. 101, is from a drawing of this suit of armour by Mr. F. Jones. For the full detailed description of the armour read Sir Guy Laking's notes in the *Guide*.

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by loss of mechanical ingenuity. It was necessary to protect the tilter, for tilting was his daily exercise ; and the whole idea of justing on horseback was now that of sport. It grew



gradually to be purely a pastime or a manly exercise(1). If a noble was sufficiently influential, he had his tilt in the street outside his house(2).

Typical of armour for the tilt is a German suit in the Wallace Collection, which is here illustrated. The great tilting heaulme(3) is screwed to the breastplate, which, slightly globose in form, has the right side "boxed" inclining outwards, to allow the lance to pass over the lance-rest fixed at the corner, and under the *queue*. Over each armpit is a *palette*, the right one being shaped to permit the play of the lance. On the left side

(1) The combat at this period was always on foot, and the armour differed.

(2) "The Dauphin, Orleans, Nevers and others every day run at the tilt at the Tournelles near the Bastille" (Bonner to Cromwell, *Cal. S. P. Hen. VIII.*, II, No. 993). "The Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans ran every day at the tilt. The old tilt adjoining the Louvre that had fallen down is set up again The tilt within the Tournelles is mended" (Bonner to Lord Lisle, *Ibid.*, No. 1033). Cf. *ante*, p. 93. There is a late XVI. cent. tapestry in Florence, showing a tilt erected in the street in front of the nobleman's palace (MARITZ, *Tapisserie*, Pl. XXXIII, pub. 1890, 4to).

(3) The tilting-heaulme of this date is of great interest to us, because we have undoubted specimens of English make and of English fashion, although we were not great armourers. The English specimen in the Wallace Collection is made of two plates, thereby differing from the one over the tomb of Sir W. Barendyne in Haseley Church. There is

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of the breastplate are holes through which a wooden shield is attached(1). On the bridle hand was usually worn a *main-de-fer* or bridle gauntlet, the fore-arm being generally further protected by an extra piece, the *pass-guard*. The right upper arm and elbow were covered by the reinforcing piece, the *polder-miton*; the right hand of course was guarded by the *vamplate* of the lance and also by a special form of gauntlet. This gauntlet was often made so as to grasp the lance or sword in such a way that the weapon could not escape from the hand. This form, called a *locking gauntlet*, forbidden in Worcester's Ordinance(2), was in common use in the XVI. century. The legs were often unarmed, being protected by large plates of armour called *tilting-cuisses*, or in German, *dilge*, affixed to the saddle(3). The foregoing were probably the



another at Florence, also English; a fourth at Windsor, by tradition described as having been worn by Hen. VI. Sir Guy Laking, in his Wallace Catalogue, describes others: (a) The Brocas heaume at Woolwich; in (b) Petworth Church; in (c) Ashford Church, c. 1499; (d) the Westminster Abbey heaume, discovered in 1869; (e) a fine example belonging to Capt. H. Lindsay, of Sutton Courteney, Berks. For full detailed descriptions of the tilting armour, read Sir Guy Laking's descriptions in the *Guide*, Ed. 1910, p. 22.

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 84.

(2) *Appendix IV*, p. xxx.

(3) Cf. the illustration *ante*, p. 94, where Sir J. Astley is figured with "a paire of jambus." These tilting-pieces were in origin purely German.

first extra pieces, but others were added later. The armour covering the left shoulder and left side from neck to waist was reinforced by the *grand-guard*. The neck was further protected by the *volant-piece*(1), often combined with the *grand-guard*, but which could be used alone(2). The heaume of the shape of the Brocas example at Woolwich was not the only form used, although, perhaps, the best known; some tilters wore a type, the skull-piece of which resembled a bascinet, following the shape of the head and neck. The tilter put on the skull-piece first and then adjusted the visor. This heaume was fitted with a different visor for combats on foot. One of the best specimens of this form of English make hangs in Birling Church in Kent(3).



The Nevill heaume.

Perhaps the reader may wonder why the heaume is so often alluded to in these pages; it is because no relic of the Middle Ages so vividly recalls and symbolizes the days of chivalry and her lofty and elemental aspirations. That is why

(1) These are well illustrated in the drawing of a suit in the Wallace Collection, by Mr. F. Jones, *ante*, p. 104.

(2) BOHEIM, *Waffenkunde*, pp. 517 *et seq.*, gives a detailed account of tournament armour with copious drawings from museum pieces.

(3) Birling Church lies nestled under the chalk hills near the Pilgrims' Way, and in the parish is situated Comfort, a Georgian farm-house, partly built of the stone of the old manorial seat of the Nevill family. It was in old Comfort that Henry, fourth Baron

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it still haunts our imagination as we wander through cathedral and church, rich with memories of the dead, where, sculptured in alabaster or graven in brass, the head of the crusader fittingly rests on crested heaume. There he lies in dignified repose, peacefully slumbering through the passing centuries, after a life devoted to war and tournament and the quest of high adventure. Its lure is irresistible because it is the call of history, romance, gallant bravery and immense endurance. The achievements of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral, of Henry V. in Westminster Abbey, bring back to memory

Bergavenny, died in 1586-7; he was buried, like his father, the third lord, in Birling Church. Birling Manor vested in Elizabeth, only child and heiress of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester. She had married Sir Edward Nevill, sixth son of Ralph, 1st Earl of Westmorland, by Joan, his second wife, daughter of John of Gaunt. This Sir Edward Nevill did homage for Birling Manor in 1435. At the birth of his son George, at Raby Castle, probably in 1440, he bore the title of Baron Bergavenny, but he was not summoned to parliament until ten years later; he died in 1476, and was succeeded by his son George, second Baron Bergavenny, who had been knighted at Tewkesbury in 1471; summoned to parliament in 1482, he died in 1492, and was buried at Lewes, leaving issue. His elder son, George, third Baron Bergavenny, born about 1471, was a soldier, and fought in Cornwall under Henry VII., and with Henry VIII., in France. He died in 1535, leaving issue, a son, the fourth Baron Bergavenny. Both were buried in Birling Church (the heart of the third Baron was buried at Mereworth).



The second Baron Bergavenny left a second surviving son, Sir Edward, friend and companion of Henry VIII., and a great juster. He tilted at Richmond in 1510, and "hurt Master Compton sore, and he was like to die"; again at Greenwich, in 1511, as *Joyeux Penser*; in Paris in 1515, and at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in 1520. He was beheaded in 1538. He lived at Addington, near by. To-day the lay rector of the parish of Birling is Mr. Percy Nevill, and this heaume, bearing the Bull crest of the family, hangs in the chancel of the church. The crest is Jacobean.

The heaume has its wonderfully forged tilting visor (once it must also have had a visor for foot combats), attached by two pins to the skull-piece; the workmanship of the helmet is very fine. The symmetry is most striking. The thickness of the visor varies. On the right side is a trap which has the edge turned outwards to parry the lance; the door is missing. There are four holes on either side for air and hearing. The skull has a beautiful keel. The whole piece is in

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England's earlier efforts more than five hundred years ago at Créçy, at Agincourt, on the plains of Picardy, and on the banks of the Somme. Hear the "Warlike Harry":—

*"This story shall the good man teach his son ;
And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered :
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers ;
For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother ; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition :
And gentlemen in England, now a-bed,
Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here ;
And hold their manhoods cheap, whiles any speaks
That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day."*

We must admit, too, the spell of heraldry, when, in the dim space of some old hall, still silvered with the testimony of knights'-service, we suddenly discern the heaume of the warrior over his bouched shield, emblazoned in stained glass, and watch, enthralled, the setting sun casting his golden

perfect condition with a fine patine. It was once painted, and has a gilded line at places. Its weight is 15 lbs. 6 ozs.

If it was made about 1480, the date which experts would assign to it, it might have been made for the second Lord Bergavenny, who, as has been already noted, was born about 1440, and it may have come to his eldest son. The inheritance of armour was a common practice, and nothing new in the Nevill family (*ante*, p. 49); and as the third Lord Bergavenny was buried in Birling Church, it might very naturally have been given to the church. On the other hand, as Sir Edward, the younger son, was such a mighty juster, it is not unreasonable to suppose it perhaps belonged to him; and as Sir Edward lived hard by, it may, as soon as the scandal of his political death had passed away, been placed in Birling Church to his memory. The balance of probability is that it was made either for the third Lord Bergavenny (born 1471), or his younger brother, Sir Edward, because it resembles the shape of the heaumes in the *Heralds' College Roll*;

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javelins into the hearts of the mellow colors, kindling everywhere ruby, sapphire, emerald fires and a soft radiance, through which our heaume appears to us as the apotheosis of romantic splendour and suggestion.

and, if so, the date of the heaume is between 1490 and 1500. There is a cast of this heaume in the British Museum.

Another rather later example of somewhat similar form is in the vicarage at Framlingham, Suffolk. It hung formerly over the tomb of the second Duke of Norfolk, and is said to have been worn by him at Flodden Field in 1515, where he commanded the British army. It bears the crest of the family :

“And Edmund Howard’s lion bright,
Shall bear them bravely in the fight.”

(*Marmion*, II, 791-2).





The History of the Tournament.

VI.

THE TOURNAMENT IN THE XVI. CENTURY.



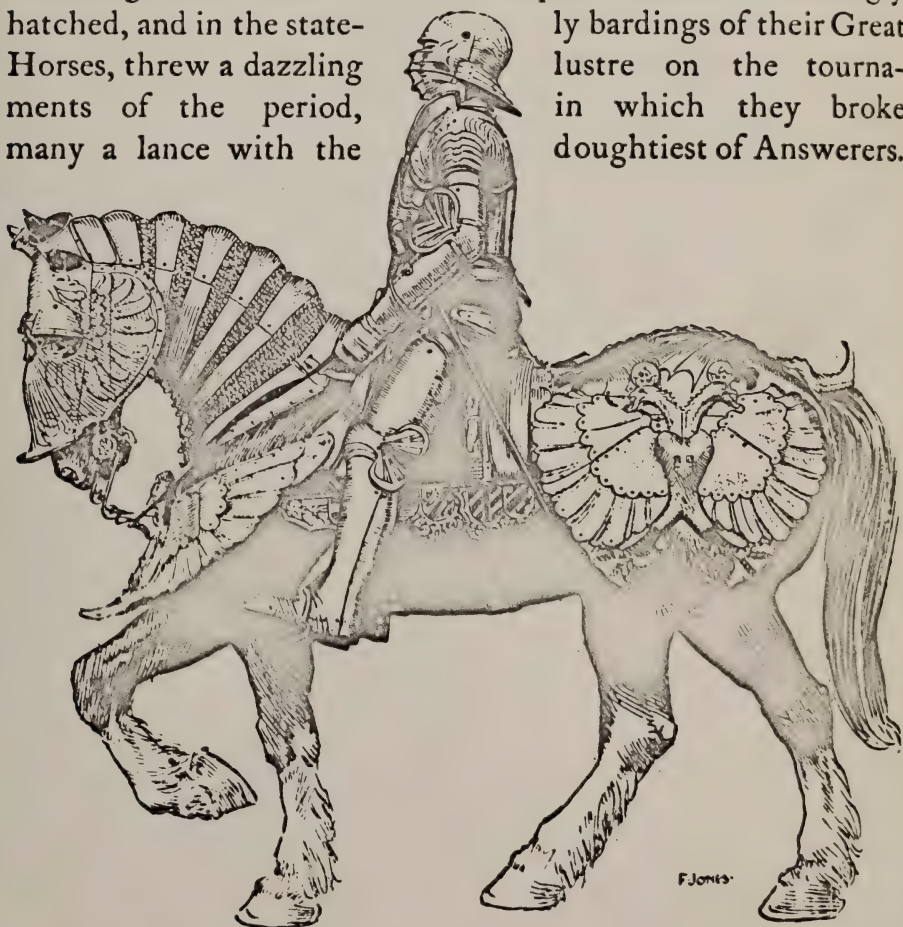
THE final stage of the tournament is reached in the Tudor period⁽¹⁾. In England or on the continent, a national festival without the inclusion of justs and tourney was still unthought of. The birth of a prince, a royal marriage, the reception of an embassy, the conclusion of a peace or a treaty, all these events were heralded by the gorgeous display of one of those pageants, in which prince, noble and burgess all played their parts,

(1) VISCOUNT DILLON has written on the tilting of this period (*Arch. J.*, LV, 296). For records of justs during the reign of Henry VII., *vide The Booke of Certaine Triumphes*, Harl. MS. No. 69, fos. 2, 6, 7, which are printed in *Appendix VI*, pp. xlv, lii, and liii; MEYRICK, *Antient Armour*, II, 195; LELAND, *Collectanea*, V, 358 (HEARNE'S Ed. of 1770) quotes an old MS. which gives the account of the justs held in 1501 at the marriage of Arthur, elder son of Hen. VII., to Katherine of Aragon: "After them came the Duke of Buckingham in his Pavilion of white and greene silk, being foure square, having proper Turrets and Pynacles of curious Work, sett full of redd Roses of the King's Badges. This Pavilion was borne, upholded, and conveyed with right many of his Servants on Foote. . . . And anone came out of the King's street. . . . Guillam de la Rivers in a goodly Shippe borne up with men, himselfe riding wthin in the Midst. . . . The Erle of Essex in a great Mountaine of Greene, the which served for his Pavilion, with many Trees, Rocks, Hearbes, Stones, and marveyulous Beasts upon the Sides. On the height of this Mountaine there was a goodly young ladye in her Laire pleasantly besene." The checques or scoring papers of these justs are preserved in the Heralds' College (M. 3) (FOULKES, *Jousting cheques*, etc., *Archaeologia*, LXIII, 34).

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and in them found their pleasure and an outlet for their overwhelming animal spirits. The presence of Maximilian, The Emperor, in Germany, Henry VIII. in England and François I^{er} in France, themselves skilled tilters, bringing extravagance, color and display to their scenes of revelry, outvicing each other in their superb armour, cunningly hatched, and in the state-Horses, threw a dazzlingments of the period, many a lance with the

ly bardings of their Great lustre on the tournament in which they broke doughtiest of Answerers.



The suit of armour made for Maximilian I. by Laurenz Kolman in 1519. Now in the Imperial Collection, Vienna.

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The name of Maximilian⁽¹⁾ is also associated with the tournament, because of his interest in the armourer's craft, and of his *Triumph*⁽²⁾. "Maximilian armour" (for the fluted armour of his period is so called) is very graceful, inferior in form only to the best period of Gothic, and at the same time rich and gorgeous. His *Triumph* gives short accounts of the

Maximilian I.,
The Emperor.
His
Triumph.

(1) b. 1459; d. 1519.

(2) The *Triumph* was written on 109 parchment sheets of 34" by 20," and illuminated with miniatures. The MS. is preserved in the Ro. Lib., Vienna. From it HANS BURGMAYER, a pupil of DÜRER, made drawings from which wood-blocks were engraved in 1515-19 by 17 wood-cutters. With the exception of 18, they vary slightly from the miniatures. Of the 200 original blocks, if ever the full 200 were cut, only 135 have been preserved. Forty were found at Ambras in the Tyrol, 95 at the Gratz Jesuit Coll. (BARTSCH, *Le Peintre graveur*, VII, 232). The *Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian*, illustrated, has been published by the Holbein Society in 2 vols., edited by A. ASPLAND; the following references are to the numbers of the plates in that publication. Nos. 41-3 deal with the tourney, Nos. 45-56 with the just with sharp and rebated lances. No. 41 gives the portrait of the "Master of the Tourney," one Anthony von Yfan, and No. 44 the portrait of Wolfgang von Polheim, "Master of the Just." Nos. 45 to 55 show the knights ready for the various kinds of justs, in different suits of armour, on various forms of saddles, bearing lances, some with sharp points, some with cronels. No. 51 is the course with the "ingenious breastplate," which, by means of springs, flew into pieces on being struck. A reproduction from *Das Turnierbuch Johannis des Beständigen in HAENAL, Der Sächsischen Kurfürsten Turnierbücher*, 1910, shows this course of the "ingenious breastplate" or *Geschäftstartscheurrennen* between HANS HERZOG zu Sachsen and Maximilianus Römischer König, of the year 1498 at Innsbruck. BOEHM notes that there is a unique miniature representation of such a breastplate in a MS. (c. 1544) in the armoury of Madrid, and he reproduces a drawing of the mechanical arrangement of a breastplate used in a similar course from an incomplete specimen in the Imp. Collection in Vienna (*Waffenkunde*, Ed. 1890, pp. 557-9, fig. 650; *Waffenammlung des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, I, Plate L, fig. 1). Cf. also a drawing of the mechanism from a specimen in the Musée d'Artillerie figured in DEMMIN, *Guide des Amateurs d'Armes*, p. 256, fig. 55. In the course No. 53, no head defence was worn, and a coffin was placed in the lists to remind the combatants of deadliness of the contest, a truly German touch.

Two MSS. at Vienna, one by an unknown writer of the period, and one by J. Schemel, of Augsburg, of 1570, further help to explain the figures.

VISCOUNT DILLON has estimated the number of these Maximilian courses to have been as many as 43 (*Arch. J.*, LV, 320); the differences between them must have been very small, many probably depending on the use of different shields, helmets, grand-guards, and other pieces of armour. BURGMAYER has also left us a drawing of a tournament, of which there is a unique engraving in the Vienna Imp. Library, supposed to have been prepared for the *Weiss-Kunig* (BARTSCH, *Le Peintre graveur*, VII, 226). For engravings of the German tournament *vide* Lucas Cranach and the references in *Ibid.*, VII, 293.

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different contests at German tournaments, and is illustrated by a large number of miniatures, which present very curious pictures of the costume and armour worn. These different contests are now chiefly interesting, because their names survive in the descriptions of German tilting armour. There is no English book on the German tournament, and any history of the subject which omits German tilting must be considered very imperfect(1).

Henry VIII. The sport of the tournament never claimed a keener supporter than Henry VIII. When he came to the throne in 1509, at the age of 19, few could splinter a lance better than he, and he continued to make Justing one of the chief amusements of his Court. At Westminster, Greenwich and Hampton Court he had his permanent tilts. The *Chronicles* of the time all speak of him as good at the sport. On one occasion it is recorded: "The king was that daie highlie to be praised, for he brake three and twentie speares besides atteints, and bare downe to ground a man of armes and his horsse: the Lord marquesse and all other did valiantlie But the king for a suertie exceeded all other"(2). To him it was doubtless in no small measure due that running at the tilt was maintained as a national and popular pastime throughout his reign. An imposing figure he must have presented in the harness given to him by Maximilian; the Tower, where this suit is preserved, is still his witness to the

(1) For the German tournament *vide* BOEHEIM, *Waffenkunde*, pp. 566 *et seqq.*; FREYDAL, *Des Kaisers Maximilian I. Turniere*, etc., Ed. by LEITNER, fo., 1880-2; GURLITT, *Deutsche Turniere*, 1889; NIEDNER, *Das deutsche Turnier im xii und xiii jahr.*, 1881; J. S. BURGERMEISTER, *Bibliotheca equestris continens ultra 50 Autores et Scriptores etc. de Nobilitate et Ordine equestri*, etc., 1720; RUEKNER, *Anfang: Ursprung: und Herkommen Thurnirs in Teutscher Nation*, etc., 1530.

(2) HOLINSHED, Ed. 1586, Vol. III, 835.

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great interest he took in armour. HALL writes: "The King is having a new harness made of his own device and fashion, as no armourer before that tyme had seen." (1) The illustration given here is of one of his suits, now at Windsor (2). Numerous are



French suit of armour for the combat, made for Henry VIII., probably by Loys Merveilles.

Chronicles of the justs held during the reign of Henry VIII., and sumptuous must have been the costumes, allegorical setting, romantic images of chivalry (3), and the

(1) Probably made abroad. Henry purchased even the armour for his soldiers in Italy (*vide* the Warrant printed in *Appendix VII*, p. lxxv), and it was to Milan he sent his own armourer for repair (NICHOLAS, *Privy Purse Expenses of K. Henry VIII.*).

(2) This suit is considered by Sir Guy Laking to be by Loys Merveilles, a French armourer; it resembles in workmanship the suit by this armourer in the Château de Bonnelle belonging to the Duchesse d'Uzès, worn by Gaillot de Genouillac, Grand-master of Artillery to François I^{er}, when he accompanied the French King to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in 1520. This harness is, perhaps, the finest in existence.

(3) Cf. HOLINSHED, Ed. 1586, III, p. 815.

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extravagant feasting, which terminated the pageants, when Henry, lover of dancing as he was, led a *lavolta*, "a lofty jumping or a leaping round," or the *pavin*, the stately dance of chivalrous ages, which graced the banquet at the close of the tournament, at which the peacock had been served in state. When a licence for Justs Royal is sought for from Henry the petitioners pray thus: "It is and ever hath bine of old antiquitie to passe the delectable season of summer after divers manner and sondry fashion of disporte as in hunting the red deere and the fallowe with houndes, greyhoundes and the bowe, also in hawking with hawkes of the Tower"(1). The challengers ask to be allowed to "hange" in Greenwich Park "by a greene lace Vergesen Blanke in which white shield it shall be lawfull to any Gentleman that will aunswear this Challenge ensewing to subscribe his name"(1). On another occasion, at a tournament, Henry is described as having "had on his hed a ladies sleue full of Diamondes"(2). As all else of the period, sport was touched by the elaborate grace of the Renaissance.

An incident at a Greenwich Tournament in 1524, when Henry forgot to lower his visor, is thus recorded by HALL: "The Duke strake the kyng on the brow right under the defence of the hedpece on the verye coyffe scull, or

(1) *Harl. MS.* No. 69, fo. 5B, printed in *Appendix VI*, p. li.

(2) HALL, Ed. 1809, p. 591. In *Troilus and Cressida* SHAKESPEARE makes Cressida give as a "pledge" to Diomedes a "sleeve" to wear on his "helm," when he is to be "her knight by proof." Cf. "She made him were a pencil of hir sleve" (CHAUCER, *Troilus and Criseyde*, V, 1043). Troilus seeks a combat with him:—

Tro. "I come to lose my arm, or win my sleeve." (V, 3, 95).

Cf. also the lines in *Hen. V.*, Act IV, Sc. 7, when Henry gives Fluellen a glove "for a favour," which "when Alençon and myself were down together, I plucked this glove from his helm." Again, later, in Sc. 8, Henry gives a glove to Williams filled with crowns, saying "wear it for an honour in thy cap."

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bassenet-pece.to whiche never armorer taketh hede, for it is evermore covered with the viser, barbet and volant pece”(1). Justs at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.

In 1520 Justs were held, as an incident on one of the days of feasting, at the interview between Henry and François I^{er} at the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*, and by Henry's order HALL(2) wrote a description of the “mask”, as it is called in *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth.*

Buckingham. “ *An untimely ague*
Stay'd me a prisoner in my chamber, when
Those suns of glory, those two lights of men,
Met in the vale of Ardren.”

.

Norfolk. “ *Then you lost*
The view of earthly glory :
. Each following day
Became the next day's master, till the last
Made former wonders its. To-day, the French,
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English ; and to-morrow, they
Made Britain, India : every man that stood

(1) HALL, Ed. 1809, p. 674.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 605-622. Cf. *Memoires du Maréchal de Fleurange* (s.a. 1520); C. & M. Hen. VIII., III, Pt. 1, Nos. 869 and 870, where *L'Ordonnance et Ordre du Tournoy, Joustes et Combat à pied et à cheval*, by JEHAN LESCAILLE, is given (also published 1520, 4to, black letter); MONTEAUCON, *Les Monuments de la Monarchie*, IV, 164, quoting the portefeuilles of de Peiresc, and reproducing engravings by Noel (p. 204); *La Description et Ordre du Camp et festiement et Joustes des très Chrestiens et très puissans Roys de France et d'Angleterre* [1520]. Reprinted and published by A. Aubry, Paris, 1864, 12mo. In this account it appears that the two kings tilted with crowns on their helmets. “Le Jourduy les joustes ont este ouvertes par les deux Roys et leur tenans les deux Roynes se sont veues sur les ditz eschaffaulx. les lices ont este faictes avec cōtrelices à la mode de France mais le Roy d'Angleterre à requis les d'contrelices estres ostées ce qui à este fait.” There is a great deal of interesting detail connected with the royal interview in the Diaries of SANUTO, but little in regard to the Justs (Vol. XXXIX, 22, 24, 27); it is chiefly political, the rich dress of Henry is described (XXVIII, 644), and Sanuto's correspondent notes that Henry, with true Tudor care, wants “communibus expensis.”

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*Show'd like a mine. Their dwarfish pages were
As cherubins, all gilt : the madams too,
Not us'd to toil, did almost sweat to bear
The pride upon them, that their very labour
Was to them as a painting ; now this mask
Was cry'd incomparable ;
. When these suns
(For so they phrase them) by their heralds challeng'd
The noble spirits to arms, they did perform
Beyond thought's compass ;”(1)*

A large picture, once at Windsor, and described in *Archaeologia*, (2) represents this meeting. In it are to be seen the lists kept by the Yeomen of the Guard at one end and by the French Guard at the other. On the rise of a hill in the left-hand corner is a tree of honour, with its trunk wrapped in velvet and gold ; and on its branches hang the shields of the two Challengers and the Tables, and underneath those of the Answerers. The branches are made of raspberry and hawthorn, the former representing the badge of François, the latter that of Henry VIII., and both are entwined together as emblematic of the two kings and their peoples (3). During the Civil War, Philip, Earl of Pembroke, cut out the head of Henry VIII. from the picture, when there was a great risk that all the art treasures of the royal family would be sold. At the Restoration Lord Pembroke gave this piece of the

(1) *King Hen. VIII.*, Act I, Sc. 1.

(2) III, 185. Engraved and issued by the Roy. Soc. of Ant.

(3) The effect of the Renaissance on heraldry was to make it complicated. It was a feature of the period to introduce a fantastic branch of heraldry into tournaments. "Noblemen adopted the Italian fashion of adorning their shields at tournaments, and sometimes their household furniture and plate, with 'imprese,' artistic devices in miniature combining ingenious allegorical pictures in mottoes. Near the end of his career, in March 1613, the dramatist (SHAKESPEARE) helped his friend Burbage, who was well known not only as an actor, but also as a painter, in devising an 'impresa' for the Earl

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picture back to Charles II., who had it replaced, and this restoration can still be seen(1).

As to the armour worn at this historic meeting, it cannot be said that any piece exists to-day, but the helmet, until 1840 in Rayne Church, Essex, and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is generally supposed to have been worn by Sir Giles Capel on that occasion, when fighting at the barriers ; and the fine heaume of the Nevill family in Birling Church, resembling in form those pictured in the Tournament Roll, was perhaps worn by Sir Edward Nevill(2) at the same tournament, while the Duchesse d'Uzès possesses at the Château de Bonnelle the superb suit of armour of Gaillot de Genouillac, who was Grand-Master of Artillery, when he accompanied François I^{er} thither as a member of his suite. The extravagance and magnificence of the pageant made *Abergavenny* lament :—

“..... I do know
Kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that have
By this so sicken'd their estates, that never
They shall abound as formerly.”

Buckingham. “..... O! many
Have broke their backs, with laying manors on them
For this great journey.”(3)

Another curious reminiscence of this tournament is the roll of the cheques, or scoring sheet of the justs, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. emblazoned with the shields of of Rutland, a friend of the dramatist's patron, the Earl of Southampton, to bear on his shield and equipment at a forthcoming tournament at Whitehall” (*Shakespeare's England*, II, 88). This knowledge of Shakespeare is shown very typically in *Pericles*, where he introduces each knight at the tournament by his device and motto.

(1) *Archæologia*, III, at p. 228.

(2) *Ante*, p. 107 ; *post*, p. 119 ; *cf.* *Archæologia Cantiana*, 1917.

(3) *King Hen. VIII.*, Act I, Sc. 1.

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the two kings and of "le Duc de Suffolke," "le Duc de Vendosme," "le Conte de St Pol," and "le Marquis Dorsett," which may be seen reproduced in colour in a recent publication(1).

The Justs of 1510, held in honour of the birth of a prince to Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon, held in the Tilt-Yard, Westminster.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the records of tournaments of this century is the description of the Justs, held in honour of the birth of a prince to Henry and Katherine of Aragon(2). Preserved to the nation and accessible to the privileged few is the *Tournament Roll* of these justs in the care of the Herald's College(3). It is a long parchment roll, 59 ft. long by 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins.

(1) *Encyclopaedia Brit.*, XI. Ed., Vol. XIII, Plate IV. It is also given by Mr. FFOULKES in his article on Jousting Cheques, in *Archaeologia*, LXIII, Plate IX.

(2) HALL has described these in his *Chronicles* (Ed. 1809, p. 517; cf. also HOLINSHED, Ed. 1586, p. 807). Four knights, *Les quater Chivalers de la forrest saluigne*, who were the King, representing *Cure Loial*, Lord William of Devon, *Bon Espoir*, Sir Thomas Knyvet, *Valiaunt Desire*, Sir Edward Nevill, *Joyeux Penser*, were present to "runne at the tilte against all comers"; their names were inscribed upon "a goodly table hanged upon a tree," which set out the "articles" or rules. These articles were set "upon a goodlie table" on vellum, and on the table were emblazoned the shields of the knights "hanged in a tree curiously wrought bearing roses and pomegranates." These quotations are from the *Table* printed from *Harl. MS.* 69, fo. 4B, in *Appendix VI*, at p. xlix. At the foot of the *Table* (reproduced from *B.M. Cart. Harl. Antiq.* 83, H. I. in *Archaeologia*, LXIII, Plate V) are the signatures of Henry and the Knights. The *Table* is also set out on the Herald's College Tournament Roll and reproduced in *Vet. Mon.*, Vol. I, Pl. XXI. Its contents are printed in ELLIS, *Orig. Letters Illustrat. of Eng. Hist.*, 2nd Ser., I, 179; MEYRICK, *Ancient Armour*, II, 208. Mr. C. FFOULKES reproduces also one of the cheques from *Bod. Ash. MSS.* 1116 in *Archaeologia*, LXIII, Plate VI. Cf. also *C.S.P. Hen. VIII.*, I, No. 1491.

From HALL we learn that on the first day the Queen and her ladies had entered their gallery there was a "pageant" drawn before the Queen, "made like a forest," guarded by foresters, and drawn "by a Lion and an Antelop." When the car came before the Queen the foresters blew their horns and the "pageant opened" and out stepped four knights, and "so the Justes beganne, and endured all that daye" (Ed. 1809, p. 517). The next day the knights came upon the scene differently, each under a pavilion of gold and purple, with their retinues 168 in number. Then came the "answerers," Brandon, clad as a recluse, who presented to the Queen his petition to just, and when it was granted, he threw off his outer cloak and appeared in full armour; others came in as pilgrims, another as a castle, and each went through the same formality. After the justing the King and Queen attended Even-song, then followed a banquet and dancing, and a pageant which HALL describes in great detail (*Ibid.*, pp. 517-18). Mr. FFOULKES, in *Archaeologia*, LXIII, refers to bills of expenses in the Record Office for decorations, dresses, etc., for similar justs (pp. 43, 49).

(3) The Roll commences with the emblazonment of "the crowned and slipped

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wide, with coloured figures of the whole parade, burnished with gold and silver. It is entitled: "Justes at Westmin^r the 12th of Febr. by the King, my Lord of Devon, Sr^r Tho^s Knyvet, and Edw. Nevill, A 1 H. VIII."

HALL also describes the justs held in 1516 in honour of the visit of Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots, sister to Henry VIII., and her husband Archibald, 6th Earl of Angus, whom she married after the death of James IV. at Flodden(1).

The sport was still a dangerous one. At the justs held on the occasion of the marriage of François I^{er}, in 1515, the Duke of Suffolk writes to Henry VIII., that many were hurt

Lancaster rose impaled and dimidiated with a pomegranate," suspended from the branches of a tree with rose leaves. Then follows the whole parade. First, comes *Le Maître de l'armurerie du Roy*, mounted and accompanied by twelve henchmen on foot, some with batons, others with lances (with cronels), but none in armour. Six mounted trumpeters come next, followed by *Les Gorgyas de la Court*, then six *Officiers d'Armes*, mounted, wearing their tabards. The first of the tilting knights is *Joyeux Penser*, mounted, with five esquires with batons, on foot. Like the others who follow, he is in full armour with tilting heaume; over him four of his henchmen carry a canopy. His horse is caparisoned with flowing bardings worked with the initials, *H.* and *K.* *Bon Vouloir*, *Vaillant Desyr*, follow, and lastly the King as *Noble Cœur Royal*, with a train of twenty-two knights and esquires. On the trappings of his horse, in addition to the initials *H* and *K*, is embroidered a heart. Nine *Pages Du Roy* follow, one leading a horse with *la selle dhonneur*. After these knights come *le grant escuyer*, mounted, *le maître des Pages*, mounted. Arriving at the lists is portrayed the gallery for the Queen and her ladies, and for the judges, and before it the tilt. At one end of the lists are the four pavilions of the challengers, and from them are to be seen coming out three of the knights, while a fourth, the king, is tilting with one of the answerers or *venantz*. Attending on these two tilters are two esquires. At the other end of the lists are nine answerers, *les venantz*, some wearing plumes, some a coitise on their helms, and each wearing different heraldic devices on their horse trappings. One knight appears to have his armour painted to represent ermine. The next miniatures represent the parade leaving the lists, *Lyssue du Champ*. Eight trumpeters are giving *le son des trompettes*. *A l'hostel*, the old mediæval cry, finally closed the tournament. The leading figure is that of an esquire, mounted, bearing *le heaulme du Roy* on a staff; it is surmounted by a crown: then comes the *Le Roy desarmey*, followed by nineteen attendants. The Roll is engraved in *Vetusta Monumenta*, I, Pl. XXI-XXVI; HEWITT, *Ancient Armour*, III, gives two of the engravings from the Roll, and a coloured facsimile of a small portion is reproduced in *Archæologia*, Vol. LXIII, Pl. VII. Mr. Everard Green has described the Roll in *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries*, 1894, XV, 212.

(1) HALL, Ed. 1809, p. 584.

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The Sport
was still
dangerous.
Death of
Henri II.
in Paris.

and "one Frenchman is not like to live"(1). During the tournament at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, in 1520, a French noble died from the effects of a blow at the tilt; a few years later, at Greenwich, an English knight was killed. It was in Paris that the danger produced the most marked effect on its popularity, for in 1559(2) Henri II. "qui portait pour livrée blanc et noir, qui estoit la sienne ordinaire, à cause de la belle veuve qu'il servait"(3), after running the last course of the day, determined to run yet another with the Scot, Montgomery, whose lance "leva la visière, en laquelle entrat un esclat, bleça le Roy au front par dessous l'oeil droit il vesquit dix jours." Such is the evidence of Claude Ricciard, in a letter written the 14th of July, 1559, fourteen days after the event to Cornille Musse, Bishop of Bitonte(4). *Quem Mars non rapuit, Martis imago rapit*, wrote the poet Louis Forçadel. It was this accident which really killed justing in France(5). A Turkish ambassador neatly put the idea of the time, "Si c'était tout de bon, ce n'était pas assez, et que si c'était un jeu, c'était trop"(6).

PERRISSIN, a contemporary engraver, published a series of engravings portraying the principal events in France between

(1) *C.S.P. Hen. VIII.*, I, No. 5606.

(2) At the *Pas d'Armes* given in honour of the marriages of his daughter and sister. The cartel is given in DU CANGE, *Les Tournois*, etc., *Appendix II*, post, p. xvii.

(3) BRANTÔME, *Grands Capitaines François*, Ed. 1867, III, 271. This refers of course to Diane de Poitiers.

(4) GIROLAMO RUSCELLI, *Epistres des Princes*, 1572, p. 185. SKELTON, *Antient Armour*, in a note to Plate X, says that the accident, according to Davilla, was due to the sudden opening of the trap-door on the side of the visor.

(5) Tournaments quickly went out of fashion in France; a few took place from time to time, e.g., at Bayonne, in 1565, and in Paris about the same year; in both the great Montmorency surpassed all opponents (MENESTRIER, *Traité des Tournois*, Ed. 1679, p. 273). As late as 1776 there was a real tournament in Stockholm (LEBER, *Coll. des Dissertations*, XI, 364).

(6) *Ibid.*, XI, 363.

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1559 and 1570, and although dated uniformly 1570, the engravings are said to have been made from drawings by eye-witnesses of the scenes. One pictures this *pas* of 1559(1). The lists are set out before the old *bôtel des Tournelles* which Catherine de Médicis afterwards destroyed. On its site Henry IV. erected the Place Royale(2). JUSSE-
RAND points out that in a plan of Paris by G. BRAUN, of 1530, the lists, where the justs were held, and the tilt can be distinguished(3). Henri II., like Henry VIII., wore beautiful armour, which in form is marked by the change from the short and globose to a rather long-bellied breastplate with a narrow placate, the tapul coming to a point lower down than in the time of François I^{er} and showing a rudimentary peascod. One suit, made between 1536 and 1547 by an unknown French armourer, richly chased and damascened, is in the Musée d'Artillerie ; a second, made after 1547, and presented as a souvenir by Henri II. to Maurice de Saxe in 1551, is now in the armoury of the Wartburg(4) ; a third is in an English collection. The fine pageant harness in the Louvre is wrongly described ; it belongs to the end of the century.

Henry VIII. and Henri II. were typical examples of the new school which preached the value of healthy exercise of the body, the school of RABELAIS and MERCURIALIS(5). Part

The Time Spirit in regard to sport.

(1) DUPLESSIS, *Histoire de la Gravure*, Ed. 1861, p. 127. It is reproduced in JUSSE-
RAND, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice*, p. 155.

(2) Afterwards *Place des Voges*, now *Place de la République*.

(3) JUSSE-
RAND, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice*, p. 154 (n.)

(4) ALFONS DIENER-SCHÖNBERG, *Die Waffen der Wartburg*, Berlin, 1912, p. 36, 4to. This suit is engraved and damascened. The monogram "H" and "D," i.e., Diane de Poitiers and Henri, is constantly repeated.

(5) J. MERCURIALIS, b. 1530, d. 1606. *De arte gymnastica*, printed 1569. Of this book there is an English translation, somewhat mixed up with the editor's remarks. *The Muscles and their Story*, by J. BLUNDELL, 1864. RABELAIS lived c. 1495-1553.

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of every day of their busy lives was given up to some form of physical exercise. Even within the barriers round his tent at Guines in 1520, Henry had "ung gectz de boules" erected(1). From the beginning of the XVI. century it is interesting to mark how the note of athletic sports is more and more accentuated at all Royal Justs. To justing were added archery and wrestling(2).

Perhaps one of the most attractive little pieces of writing of the time about justing, shooting, and wrestling, is to be read in a challenge of 1507, issued by the Lady Maie's servants: "Most highe and excellent Princesse under your patient supportac'on I which am called the Ladye Maie in all monethes of the yeare to lustye hearts most pleasant certifie your Highness howe that under signe and seale fully authorized by the hand of my Ladye and Sov'raigne Dame Som'er, I have free licence during the tyme of my short Raine to passe my tyme and a ffortnight in the moneth of my sister June as shalbe to my Comfort and most solace. Wherefore I have sailed

(1) *Memories du Maréchal de Florange* (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), I, 266.

(2) Henry was a great archer: "Nemo enim ipso rege Britannicum ingentem arcum contentius flexit, nemo certius atque validus sagittavit."

"Le roy d'Angleterre luy mesmes estoit ung merueilleux bon archier" (p. 272). After the justs "ils se retirèrent à ung pavillon, le roy de France et le roy d'Angleterre et là buverent ensamble, cela faict le roy d'Angleterre print le roy de France au collet, et luy dist, 'Mon frère, je veulx luytter à vous,' et luy donne ungue estrappe ou deux. Et le roy de France, qui est fort et bon luytteur, luy donne ung tour de Bretagne, et le jette par terre, et luy donne ung merueilleux sault. Et vouloit le roy d'Angleterre encorre reluytter, mais tout cela fut rompu, et falloit aller souper. . . ." (*Memories de Maréchal de Florange*, pub. by the Soc. de l'Hist. de France, I, 272).

Henri II. was an equally enthusiastic sportsman. When not hunting, "il alloit au toilles, à la vrollerie: S'il ne montoit pas à cheval, il jouoit à la paume. . . .s'il ne jouoit à la paume, il jouoit à la balle à emporter, on au ballon, on au palle-maille. . . .sil foisoit un grand froid il falloit aller glisser sur la glasse. . . .s'il avoit fort neigé, il falloit faire des bastions et combats à pelliottes. . . .quand il pleuvoit, il falloit tirer des armes. . . .il avoit esté le meilleur sauteur de la Court" (BRANTÔME, *Les grands Capitaines François*, Ed. 1867, III, 276).

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in the scouring seas in this shippe.....I have cast out myne anchors.....under the supportac'on of your gracious licence to rest me and my said servants which have long been travailed in the stormy seasons of March and Aprill.....for I see in mynde that noble couragious hearts are determined to have my Ladye Somer in exercise of Chivalrie." Then follow the "articles" for the justs, shooting with "standart arrowe and flight"(1), wrestling, fighting at the barriers(2), casting "the barre on foot," and the "turney"(3).

Was not there yet another meaning in the change? Was it not that militarism could be satisfied by sport? Was it true that the only object of sport was training for war? Had not sport some other significance? The inborn instinct in uncivilised man for physical competition of man with man finds its satisfaction in war and single combat, in civilised man in sport. Thus in England the duel has disappeared and the deep hatred of war has grown generation by generation. The love of sport is as great as ever, and as culture develops, each pastime attended by brutality to man or cruelty to animals is given up

The instinct
for war
satisfied by
sport.

(1) The *standard arrow* was probably the old war arrow made after a pattern, supposed once to have been preserved in the Exchequer and used in *Prick and Butt* shooting; it was shot "under" hand. The *flight arrow* was a light one, and in competitions with it the greatest possible distance was the only object. It was shot "over" hand. At this period archery had become unpopular. Two statutes were passed in the reign of Henry VIII. to promote the exercise of archery, one in 1512 (3 *Hen. VIII.*, c. 3), and another in 1542 (33 *Hen. VIII.*, c. 9). *Archery*, by COLONEL H. WALROND, in *Shakespeare's England*, gives a very complete account of the sport in Tudor times, together with a bibliography.

(2) A good account of fighting at the Barriers is to be read in *Arch. J.*, LXL, 376-408, by Viscount Dillon.

(3) *Harl. MS.* 69, fo. 2B, printed in *Appendix VI*, p. xlv. This just is also described in verse, printed in black letter, by Wynkyn de Worde under the title, *Here begynneth the justes of the moneth of Maye, parfurnysshed and done by Charles Brandon, Thomas Knynct, Gyles Capell and William Hussy, the xxvii. yere of our Souerayne Lord Kynge, Henry the Seueneth.*

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one by one, until what is called the war-like instinct in man is satisfied by those sports, calling for great personal endurance and courage in each individual competitor, and the severest discipline, where two bodies of men compete, the one with the other. This should be the end of war, as far as the instinct of war in man is concerned, and in the result the brutal appeal to arms by one country against another must originate with the criminal desire by one nation to steal the wealth of another, voiced by the immoral ambition of the politician—

“Wars that make ambition virtue,”

who misleads democracy by an absolutely false use of the lofty ideal of patriotism, or by an equally false application of the law of the struggle for existence (for there is no law of nature by which animals of one species collectively struggle together against a group of animals of another species).

Clearly the suppression of the duel was comparatively easy, for men have no sympathy with an individual who desires to rob his fellow of his wealth or kill his rival in power, from which acts they derive no benefit. The only victory by one man over another, which his fellow-man approves of and must submit to, is that of man over man by superior intelligence and industry, which is the true working of the law of nature. It must always be otherwise with offensive war, where a great prize is to be won by the nation, where each individual has a minimum responsibility in the crime, and where conquest may be attained without perhaps that individual being called upon to make any effort himself. The only conquest by nation over nation, which culture can and must countenance, is that which is the sum of the efforts of individuals, who succeed by superior intelligence and industry in penetrating into the domain of

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the less intelligent, acquiring wealth and power. Such a victory is only permanent if it at the same time spreads nobler ideas and a higher culture.

In France, it has been seen, tilting was as popular with the French Court as with Henry VIII. The account of the *Pas des Armes* held by *Claude de Salins* at his Chateau de Vincelles(1) in 1512, and the *Relation du Tournoi du Nozeroy* held in 1519(2), have been reprinted. At this period these *Pas* often included justing, tourneying, fighting at the barriers, and an attack on a fortress. LA COLOMBIÈRE and others(3) give long accounts from old MSS. of many other tournaments in France and Italy.

The tournament in Italy, Germany, etc., during the Tudor period.

Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, describes the Justs held in Paris in 1514, at the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary, sister of Henry VIII., when Suffolk took the romantic part of the unknown knight in black armour, so common in all tournaments from the earliest times; he wore on his sleeve a white scarf, worked by Mary, and was so successful that he unhorsed the Ducs de Vendôme and d'Angoulême and the

(1) PROST, *Traité du Duel Judiciaire*, p. 223, reprinted from J. B. GUILLAUME, *Hist., etc., des Sires de Salins*, 1758.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 235, reprinted from F. DUNOD DE CHARNAGE, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du comté de Bourgogne*, 1740; JUSSELAND, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice*, p. 139, reproduces an old view of the chateau.

(3) *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, Ed. 1648, I, pp. 175 *et seqq.*; TRUFFI, *Giostre e Cantori di Giostre*, etc., 1911 (which also contains references to Italian MSS. on English tournaments); LEBER, *Coll. des Meilleurs Dissertations*, XIII, 116, reprints *La Publication des Joustes publiées à Paris à table de marbre, par Montjoye hérault d'Armes*, etc., [1515], printed in Paris in black letter; WALPOLE, *Misc. Ant.*, p. 12, describes the Pas at Brussels in 1549; ESTRELLA, *Viage del Principe Phelippe*, 1552, pp. 69 *et seqq.*, gives an account of the Pas at Brussels in 1540, when Charles V. introduced Phillip, who took the prize. GODEFROY, *Cérémonial François*, Ed. 1649, I, 723, gives the articles of the justs at Milan in 1507, drawn up by "un Roy d'armes François, nommé Dauphin."

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Comte de St. Pol. Six months later he married Mary(1). Quite recently the *Pas* at Tournay, at which Henry VIII. and Maximilian were present, was made the subject of a fine pageant(2).

During the French wars with the Spaniards in Italy, the old custom still prevailed for knights on either side of the two armies to challenge each other to justs and tourneys. Pierre Terrail, known by the name of Bayard, was often one of the chosen knights(3).

Elizabeth.
Her Pro-
gresses and
Processions,
her Princely
Pleasures.
The
Triumph
at White-
hall in 1581.

If we follow Queen Elizabeth in her "Progresses and Public Processions,"(4) in her "Princely Pleasures"(5), we shall still find the just and the tourney as pivots around which interest more often than not centres on one of the days of feasting. No more typical account of an Elizabethan Court tournament can be read than that of "the excellent invention

(1) *Life of Hen. VIII.*, Ed. 1741, p. 47. From the *Articles* here printed we learn that each knight could run five courses "with sharp spears at Tilt and five more at Random." If he desired to run in the former he touched a silver shield on the tree of honour; if the latter, the gold shield. If he desired to fight at the barriers, the black shield. Should he touch the tawny shield he was to cast a "spear on foot with a Target on his arm, and after fight with a two-handed sword." At the last Suffolk fought a German giant, introduced by François, and "so pommelled him that he was conveyed away secretly." These Justs are likewise referred to in *Memoires du Maréchal de Florange* in PETITOT, *Collection comp. des Mémoires*, XVI, 269, and the *Articles* are recorded in a MS. in the Bibl. Nat. de Paris, entitled, *Livre des joustes, etc., redigé par Montjoye, etc.*

(2) *Vide* the scenario written by A. HOCQUET and published by CASTERMAN, Tournai, citing among his authorities an old contemporary diary, the *Chronique de Macquerian*, and the scenarios of recent revivals in Bruges and Brussels, by J. CUVELIER and BARON A. ZUYLEN VAN NYEVELT.

(3) *La très-joyeuse et plaisante et récreative histoire, composée par le Loyal Serviteur, des faits, gestes et prouesses du bon Chevalier sans paour et sans reproche le chevalier Bayart.* Paris, 1527.

(4) By J. NICHOLS, published in 1788.

(5) GEORGE GASKOIGNE, *Princely Pleasures at the Courte at Kenelwoorth, Imprinted at London by Richard Jones, 1576.*

of the triumph"(1) held in the tilt yard at Whitehall, when Elizabeth "most roiallie feasted and banketted. . . . the commissioners from the French King to hir Maiestie" in April, 1581, who had come over to try and arrange a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke d'Alençon, when "Maister Philip Sidneie" with three other knights, "calling themselves the Foure Foster-children of Desire," attacked only to be defeated, the fortress of "perfect beautie," defended by twenty-two knights, including "Sir John Perot and Anthonie Cooke" as Adam and Eve(2), and Sir Henry Leigh as the unknown knight(3). Each challenger ran six courses against the defendants, and they "performed their part so valiantlie on both sides, that their prowesse hath demerited perpetuall memorie." The next day the triumph was continued, and again the action was supplied by the tourney, when the challengers and defendants

(1) HOLINSHED, Ed. 1586, III, p. 1316. These Elizabethan justs were conducted under the Rules of Lord Tiptoft (*ante*, p. 98), and were officially adopted in the year 1562; but there were some curious additions, such as:—"He that with his Launce taketh away the Rest of the Aduersaries Armour, meriteth more honor, than he that taketh away any other ornament. He that dexterouslie carieth the Launce long on the arme, and skilfully couereith it into the Rest neere the time of encounter, is more allowed than he that sodenlie and at the first setting out doth charge it. . . . He that loseth his Gauntlet in fight is more to bee blamed, than he who is disarmed of his Poulderon; for the Gauntlet armeth the hand, without which member no fight can be performed, and therefore that part of Armour is commonlie sent in signe of defiance (*The Booke of Honor and Armes*, ascribed by some to SIR W. SEGAR and by others to RICHARD JHONES, the printer, London, 1590).

(2) "Both were in like armour beset with apples and fruit the one signifying Adam and the other Eve" (HOLINSHED, *loc. cit.*, p. 1318).

(3) "Sir Henry Lea, Master of her Highnesse Armorie, resigned his privilege of challenger at the Justs and Triumph held on Accession Day (Nov. 17th, 1590) to the Earl of Cumberland" (SEGAR, *Honor, Military and Ciuill*, Ed. 1602, p. 197). Cf. also PEELE, *Anglorum Ferieae, Englandes Hollydayes*, 17 Novemb. 1595, and *Polyhymnia, describing the honourable Triumph at Tylt before her Majestie, printed at London by Richard Jhones, 1590*, by George Peele, *Maister of Artes in Oxforde*.

"A prominent figure in later jousts was the Earl of Essex, for whose devices in 1595 FRANCIS BACON wrote speeches, which are his nearest approach to dramatic literature" (E. K. CHAMBERS, in *Shakespeare's England*, I, 96). *Vide also SPEDDING, Bacon*, VIII, 119).

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"did verie noblie, as the shivering of the swords might verie well testifie," and after that by fighting at the barriers, where they "lashed it out lustilie and fought couragiouslye, as if the Greeks and Trojans had dealt their deadlie dole"(1). Then followed a last speech to the Queen "signifieing the humble-hearted submission of the foure foster children of Desire," who presented an olive branch "in token of her triumphant peace and of their peaceable servitude," craving only the gift of "some token to those knights which maie be judged to have doone best in each kind of weapon"(2). So ended the triumph(3).

It was at such a triumph that Elizabeth looked upon her knightly courtiers who had learned "to renn well at tilt, and at ring, to tourney, to fight at barriers, to keep a passage or streict. . . . these thinges in open syght to delyte the commune people withall," and where her "wayting gentylwoman" who had "an understandinge in all thinges belonginge to the Courtier" could "gyve her judgemente to commend and to make of gentilmen according to their worthinesse and desertes"(4).

And who could fulfil the conditions better than James Crichton, the "Admirable"(5). Born in 1560, he was the

(1) HOLINSHED, pp. 1319 *et seqq.*

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 1321.

(3) In 1912, in London, an attempt was made to present an Elizabethan Triumph at Shakespeare's England, by Lady Randolph Churchill, with the assistance of Sir F. Benson.

(4) *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio divided into foure bookss. Very necessary and profitable for yonge Gentilmen and Gentilwomen abiding in Court, Palaice, or Place, done into Englysshe by Thomas Hoby.* Imprinted by William Seres at the signe of the Hedghogge, 1561.

(5) Sir Philip Sidney was of course the fine type of the Age—

" the president
Of noblesse and of cheualerie."

Too true to himself to be called a courtier, too great a gentleman to be termed a sportsman, he can only be associated with the ideal of chivalry. Three hundred years later England again gives to the world the two men who may be compared to Sidney—Charles Lister and Rupert Brooke.

type of this great period of letters and pageant. He might have been the youth trained after the teaching of MONTAIGNE, GIROLAMO MERCURIALIS and RABELAIS. His physical exercise made and kept him a fine tilter and swordsman. When he arrived in Paris he at once caused "to be affixed programs on all the gates of the schooles, halls and colledges. . . . pillars, posts, standing before the houses of the most renowned men for literature . . . inviting them all, to repaire at nine of the clock in the morning of such a day . . . to the common schoole of the colledge of Navarre, where he should be ready to answer, to what should be propounded to him concerning any science, liberal art, discipline or faculty, practical or theorectick . . . and that in any of these twelve languages, Hebrew, Syriack, Arabick, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, English, Dutch, Flemish and Sclavonian, in either prose or verse⁽¹⁾ . . . All the while the *Admirabilis Scotus* (for so from thenceforth he was called), minding more his hawking, hunting, tilting, vaulting, riding of well-managed horses, tossing of the pike,

It is interesting to note that SIDNEY in his *Arcadia* introduces into this work of fiction, modelled on the Greek Romances, tournament scenes partly taken from his knowledge of mediaeval romances, and coloured with touches of the real tournaments and triumphs, which he had himself witnessed and taken part in. The manner of the introduction of one of his tournament scenes is to be compared with a similar one in *Pericles*.

(1) *La disputation* était un des genres littéraires les plus aimés ; la *dispute* était une des formes courantes de l'enseignement : *contentiosa Pariscos*, disait Pétrarque de notre capitale. Les écoliers disputaient entre eux ou avec leurs maîtres ; le candidat aux grades se tenait prêt à répondre, comme les chevaliers offraient le combat à tous venants le candidat combattrait disait-on en Sorbonne, *propugnabit*. Nos soutenances de thèses, bien que les propositions ne soient plus, comme autrefois, défendues contre tous venants, sont aujourd'hui un dernier reste de ces anciennes coutumes (JUSSERAND, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice*, p. 41).

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handling of the musket, flourishing of colours, dancing, fencing, swimming, jumping, throwing of the bar, playing at the tennis, baloon, or long catch ; and sometimes at the house-games of dice, cards, playing at the chess, billiards, trou-madam, and other such like chamber-sports, singing, playing on the lute, and other musical instruments, masking, balling, reveling, . . . playing closer the courting of handsome ladyes, and a jovial cup in the company of Bacchanalian blades.” When the day came to meet the learning of the University, Crichton “tossed to again, retorted, contreriposted, back-reverted and now and again graced with a quip or a clinch . . . He held tack to all the disputants . . . and publicly evidenced such universality of knowledge, and accurate promptness in resolving of doubts, distinguishing of obscurities, and . . . with all excognitable variety of learning, entertained the nimble witted Parisians from nine o’clock in the morning till six at night.”

“The very next day,” thus it is that URQUHART continues the story, “to refresh his braines, as he said, he went to the Louvre in a buff-suit, more like a favourite of Mars, than one of the Muses’ minions ; where in the presence of some Princes of the Court and great ladies, that came to behold his gallantry, he carried away the ring fifteen times on end, and broke as many lances on the Saracen”(1). Student he was, but great ladies could not scornfully cry “his study is his tiltyard.” He was killed in Italy, whither he had been drawn, like so many Elizabethans, to the birth land of the richer and older reborn culture.

(1) SIR THOMAS URQUHART, *‘Ekskubilauron, or the discovery of a most exquisite Jewel,* 1651, printed in *Tracts*, etc., pub. Edinburgh, 1774, pp. 66 *et seqq.*

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The armour of the courtiers of Elizabeth was richly engraved, and its most distinguishing feature was the peascod breast-plate which the dandy of the period wore in a very exaggerated form. There exist

The armour of the Elizabethan period.

a good many examples in public and private collections of the work of an armourer, named Jacobe(1), perhaps a Jew of English nationality, who was established at Greenwich during the last twenty



The locking-gauntlet.

years of the reign of Elizabeth. The locking-gauntlet(2) in the Hall of the Armourers and Braziers Company is a typical example of his work, as is also the splendid suit made for the first Earl of Pembroke, to be seen at Wilton, where also hangs the suit, said to have been worn by the great Anne de Montmorency, Connétable de France, at St. Quentin, in 1557, but which is probably of later date(3).

(1) A MS. of Jacobe has been printed and edited by Viscount DILLON. *An Almain Armourer's Album* (London, 1905, 6s.) gives the list of 29 suits and illustrations of 16. Note the "tilte pieces made by me Jacobe." It is not unlikely that Jacobe was an agent of a German armourer, as his work is full of German influence. He probably had a staff of German workmen, to put imported suits together, adapt them, and make and engrave extra pieces.

(2) Cf. DE COSSON, *Arch J.*, Vol. XLI, p. 272.

(3) It will be perhaps interesting here to add a note on SHAKESPEARE'S references to armour. There is no special passage in which he mentions all the pieces of armour, playing upon their names in the way in which he so often does with the terms of sport, horsemanship, games, natural history and other subjects. But SHAKESPEARE is rich in allusions to chivalry and its customs, which he never ridicules, but for which, on the contrary, it is evident he had an intense admiration. "Honor" is for ever on his lips; he uses the word over eight hundred times. To symbolize honor and victory he constantly alludes to the crest on the helm; the defeated warrior is pictured "crest-fallen"

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Complete harness said to have been worn by Anne, Duc de Montmorency, at the battle of St. Quentin in 1557. (Drawn by S. Seymour Lucas.)

or "plume-plucked." "Tilt with lips," "his study is his tilt-yard," "splinter of a lance," "rebate," "maintain," "break across," are all expressions or words used metaphorically from the tournament. As regards armour the actual head-pieces mentioned are *casque*, *helm*, *helmet*, *burgonet*, *sallet* (*salade*); *beaver*, part of the helmet, is used sometimes for the whole head-piece. To the weight of armour he refers when Northumberland exchanges "quoif" for helmet "to bind my brows with iron" (2 *Hen. IV.*, I, 1). Just as later in the same play he speaks of "rich armour worn in the heat of day, that scalds with safety" (IV, 4). "Sights of steel" refer to the *ocularium* (2 *Hen. IV.*, IV, 1). For the protection of the neck the *gorget* is mentioned (*Tro. and Cres.*, I, 3), of the arms and hands, *vant-brace* (*Ibid.*, I, 3), and "scaly" gauntlet, for the legs *cushes* (*cuisse*s) (1 *Hen. IV.*, IV, 1), and *graves* (greaves). "Turning your books to graves" (2 *Hen. IV.*, IV, 1); SHAKESPEARE here chooses the only piece of armour which opens like a book. In 2 *Hen. VI.*, III, 2, the well-known passage occurs:—

K. Hen. "What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted!

Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just;

And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,

Where conscience is in-justice is corrupted."

For the armour of the body he speaks literally and figuratively of "mail," "steeled coat," "clothed in steel," "complete steel," "coat of proof," and once the word "splinted" is used figuratively from splinted armour (*Rich. III.*, II, 2). "Harness" always means the whole suit (*Tro. and Cres.*, V, 3). "Cap-à-pé" (*Hamlet*, I, 2) also refers to a complete suit of armour. In the play of *Two Noble Kinsmen* there is an allusion to the *grandguard*. The putting on of armour introduces "closing the rivets" (*Hen. V.*, IV, *Cho.*) and *points* or laces

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Reference to LA COLOMBIÈRE⁽¹⁾ gives us in great detail the accounts of many Triumphs of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods on the continent, with extracts from numerous MSS. He particularly describes the Paris carousel of 1612, reproducing a fine engraving of the triumphal cars and the bastion, which with those of Crispin de Pas present in a graphic manner the magnificence of the fête, held in the recently erected Place Royale⁽²⁾. The *Pas d'armes* gave place to the Elizabethan Triumph, in which the Masque⁽³⁾ played so prominent a part.

(2 *Hen. IV.*, II, 4). The disuse of armour is perhaps alluded to when SHAKESPEARE speaks of "unsoured armour hung by the wall" (*Measure for Measure*, I, 3). Armour was still a proud possession, and one which Claudio would have "walked ten mile afoot to see" (*Much Ado*, II, 3). "Scouring" was the correct term for cleaning armour (2 *Hen. VI.*, I, 3).

(1) *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*. These particularly relate to Naples, Rome, Turin, Ferrara, Toulouse, Nancy; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 304, 439, 449, 461, 474, 496, 503, 517. A long list of authorities and of MSS. on the Italian tournament are given on pp. 519 *et seqq.* A recent publication reprints many MSS. dealing with Italian tournaments (TRUFFI, *Giostre e cantori di Giostre, studie recherche di storia e di Letteratura*, 1912). The references in general histories to tournaments and triumphs, are of course very many, and although the descriptions are meagre the authorities are generally given. Cf. for example, the tournament held in 1561 at the marriage festivities of William of Orange at Leipzig, where jousts, tourney, running at the ring, fighting at the barriers took place; also the tournament held at Luxembourg in 1563, which was made the occasion for a political attack against Philip V. and his Regent by means of a grand masquerade (MOTLEY, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Ed. 1903, I, 346, 456).

(2) A. PLUVINEL, *Manège Royal*, Paris, 1623, obl. fo.

(3) "The Masque is, historically, an expansion of the mediæval mummung and disguising . . . dancing was always the essential feature of the entertainment" (SIMPSON, *The Masque*, in *Shakespeare's England*, II, 311). The masquers often rode to the place of entertainment in procession, and in the history of the tournament it has been noted that the masque was frequently included as part of the amusements included in the feasting preceding and following the tournament. In very early tournaments the procession of the knights disguised came from the masque. Mr. Simpson gives the history of the masque, and describes its development and its forms during the reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I. (*Ibid.*). The early history may be read in C. NOIRIOT, *L'Origine des Masques*, etc., 1609, and printed in LEBER, *Coll. des Dissert.*, IX, 5. "The evolution of the masque . . . reached its culminating point through a combination of the literary genius and recondite learning of BEN JONSON and the architectural and mechanical skill of Inigo Jones. Originally a mere incursion into the festive hall of a group of dancing neighbours coming, in survival of forgotten sacrificial customs, to bid the lord of the house

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The
Carousel.

The Triumph is succeeded by the *Carousel*(1), which follows the florid taste of the time, and in it little of the spirit of sport or image of war remains. Sport is the chase, the image of war is the duel. As the refined intellectual art of the rapier(2) replaces the furious onslaughts in the *Champ-clos* so the splintering of lances at the tilt is abandoned for riding the Great Horse(3) "not the courser which in time of war had

Riding the
Great
Horse.

good fortune, it now became a lyric drama in little, with a skilful juxtaposition of the poetic and the grotesque, in the masque proper and the anti-masque; and into its service were pressed all the arts and all the science of its day. In its turn it reacted upon the drama proper, and the introduction of a masque forms a feature of SHAKESPEARE'S *Timon of Athens*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Tempest*, of Henry VIII., and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and of innumerable plays of other writers" (S. K. CHAMBERS, *The Court in Shakespeare's England*, I, 111).

(1) The word may be derived from the *carosello*, a ball made of clay, with which Italians and Spaniards played a game on horseback (DILLON, *Arch J.*, LV, 304, citing LUIGI SANTA PAULINA, *Arte del Cavallo*, 1696); a game which probably came from the Arab equestrian fêtes of the XII. cent. The whole history of these fêtes is given in the translation published in 1852 in three vols. by PERRON of *Le Nâcéri*, by ABOU BEKR IBN BEDR, written in the XIV. cent. The editor and translator likewise quotes from the MSS. of MAKRIZI (b. 1364, d. 1441), which has been partly translated by QUATREMÈRE, and printed in 1840. The attribution of a system of chivalry as a practice in the life of the Arabs distinct from Equestrian sports in *Nâcéri* is purely imaginary on the part of ABOU BEKR IBN BEDR. LA COLOMBIÈRE gives a different derivation of "carousel" taken from *Le Dictionnaire Toscan*, from which it appears that balls or pots, light and fragile, and filled with scented water or powder, were used by the gallants to throw at each other, and at the ladies after the tournament, and which were called *caroselles* (*Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur*, I, 529). At the Triumph, held in Turin in honor of the marriages of the Dukes of Mantua and of Modena with the infantas of Savoy, it is recorded that the pages threw "œufs pleins d'eau de senteur, en façon de Carousels" (*Ibid.*, I, 338).

(2) SIEVEKING in *Fencing and Duelling in Shakespeare's England*, gives an historical survey of the development of fencing in the XVI. cent. in England. He also alludes to the relationship of duelling to the combat, referring to MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE, *Practice, Proceedings, and Lawes of Armes, described out of the doings of most valiant and expert Captaines*, 1593; VINCENTIO SAVIOLO, *His Practise, in two bookes: the first intreating of the use of the Rapier and Dagger, the second of Honour and Honourable Quarrels*, 1595. "A book which is indispensable for the study of fencing and duelling in SHAKESPEARE and JONSON." He adds a valuable bibliography.

(3) The art of the manage, or riding the Great Horse, came to England from Italy, where in the XV. century it has been said it had been introduced from Byzantium, after the capture of the city in 1453 by the Turks; vaulting the wooden horse dates from the same period. The manage, vaulting and other equestrian games had been

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endured 'the shock of wrathful iron arms'(1), and in peace was the 'footcloth'(2) horse which carried Lord Say, and three times stumbled under Lord Hastings(3), and which to-day is represented by the cart-horse, but the type of horse then known as the barb, or Neapolitan", of which illustrations are given in *Equile* by JOANNES STRADANUS, a book published in 1570. It was to Italy that the young Italianate noble went to perfect himself in horsemanship at the academies of Grisone, Fiaschi and Pignatelli(4).

Henry VIII., as might have been expected, fine horseman as he was, engaged the services of two Italians(5) to teach the manage in England, and kept in the royal stables an Italian horse-master, Robert Alexander, called by BLUNDEVILLE, "Grison's scholler," and one Hanniball(6) a "famous ferrer." In the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sydney, who had learned the manage when attending the court of the Emperor in 1573 at the academy of John Pietro Pugliano, "an esquire of his

practised in *pre-Islam* days by the Arabs, who may have introduced them into Byzantium (Cf. *Le Nâcéri*, translated from the Arabic of ABOU BEKR IBN BEDR, by M. Perron, Paris, 1852, 3 vol. ; *Description historique du Kaire et de l'Egypte*, translated from the Arabic of MAKRIZI, by M. Quatremère, Paris, 3 vol., fo.)

(1) *Ric. II.*, I, 3.

(2) *2 Hen. VI.*, IV, 7.

(3) *Rich. III.*, III, 4. The quotation is from R. E. PROTHERO, *Agriculture and Gardening* (*Shakespeare's England*), I, 347.

(4) F. GRISONE had his academy at Naples. His *Gli Ordini di Cavalcare* was published in 1550. C. FIASCHI's academy was at Ferrara. His *Trattato dell'imbrigliare*, etc., was printed in 1556. Pignatelli was a pupil of Fiaschi's, and had academies at Ferrara and Naples. PLUVINEL was one of his pupils.

(5) BLUNDEVILLE, *The Fower chiefest offices belongyng to Horsemanshippe*, 1565-6, vide the Epistles to the *Art of Riding* and to the *Order of Curing*. Robert Alexander was probably the father of three sons, all of whom were famed as teachers of the manage in England.

(6) A much more important person was the official in charge of the Great Horses, the war chargers of the King. Such an officer of the Court accompanied Henry to the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

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stable"(1), invites over the two riding masters, Prospero and Romano, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, employs in his service Claudio Corte, horseman and writer(2). Later Henri II. sends to the English court of James I., an *écuyer*, the



De Pluvinel instructing Louis XIII. in the art of the Manage.
(After an engraving by Crispin de Pas.)

son of his *Grand Ecuyer*, the Comte de St. Antoine(3) to instruct Henry, Prince of Wales, who excelled as a horseman, "played golf, but cared little for hunting, for which his father rated him and called him *no sportsman*(4)." But it was now to Paris that the courtier turns to learn from the Comte de

(1) *An Apologie for Poetrie*, I.

(2) It is also said that he taught Elizabeth the manage. His book *Il Cavalerizzo*, 1573, was translated in 1584 under the title of *The Art of Riding*, by "THOMAS BEDINGFIELD, under J. Astley." Perhaps the Thomas Bedingfield who justed in 1570 at Westminster, and whose name appears in a justing cheque (FFOULKES, *Archaeologia*, LXIII, 48).

(3) The Comte de St. Antoine had been a pupil of GRISONE.

(4) E. K. CHAMBERS in *Shakespeare's England*, I, 110.

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S^t. Antoine, something of the art which Henri II. and Catherine de Medicis had patronised with so much enthusiasm, and which Antoine de Pluvinet, who followed S^t. Antoine as *Grand Ecuyer*, taught Louis XIII., as we see delineated in Crispin de Pas's beautiful engravings. It may have occurred to readers how



Louis XIII. tilting in the Place Royale.

(After an engraving by Crispin de Pas).

curious it is that we have no authority on how the tilt was run, no hint even in any mediaeval romance, and yet there must have been methods by means of which the expert could make his skill superior to weight and brute strength(1). On the

(1) Cf. "As a puny tilter, that spurs his horse but on one side, breaks his staff like a noble goose" (*As You Like It*, III, 4). *Benedick*: "I shall meet your wit in the career..." *Claudio*: "Nay, then give him another staff; this last was broke across" (*Much Ado About Nothing*, V, 1). Reference in previous pages to the skill of the tilter in

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other hand the art of the manage is described in a very delightful literature. The Italian horsemen all wrote books on the art of riding, the Frenchmen, LA BROUE and PLUVINEL, were the authors of elaborate and beautiful folios(1), the Elizabethans JOHN ASTLEY, "Master of the Jewel House to Queen Elizabeth (2), BLUNDEVILLE and CLIFFORD, have left us rare incunabulae(3). How popular the art of the manage must have been at this period is proved by the constant use by Shakespeare of the image of horsemanship(4). But if the art of riding in the manage with its tilt, quintain, airs and *ballet des chevaux* was all that remained of the tournament, if the young courtier loved the pageant of the carousel, of the almost effeminate Ballet des Chevaux, he was not less a soldier. The knight was soon to be called upon to fight for his King against Cromwell's Ironsides, and the cavalier out of fealty to the King(5) responded with no less courage than did his

German tournaments was omitted in regard to the course in which tilters wore a spring visor to a *salade*, which when struck with the lance, flew into pieces. The course is well illustrated in MAXIMILIAN's *Triumph*. No collection of armour contains an example of this form of visor.

(1) SALOMON DE LA BROUE, *Le Cavalerie François*, 1593. A. DE PLUVINEL, *Le Maneige Royal*, 1623.

(2) To John Astley was granted by Elizabeth the castle and manor of Allington, which she confiscated from the son of the poet, Sir Thomas Wyatt. He left a son, John, who was knighted, and was Master of the Revels to James I. The Astley family alienated the manor in 1720.

(3) J. ASTLEY, *The Art of Riding*, 1584; T. BLUNDEVILLE, *The Fower Chiefyst Offices belongyng to Horsemanshippe*, etc., 1565 (translated from GRISONE); C. CLIFFORD, *Schoole of Horsemanship*, 1585.

(4) MADDEN, D. H., *The Diary of Master William Silence*, 1897; SIEVEKING, A. F., *Horsemanship in Shakespeare's England*, II, 408.

(5) "'For my part,' said Sir Edmund Verney, 'I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the King would yeild and consent to do what they desire, so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and in gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not now do so base a thing

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forbears, who left the tournament for the Crusade. With the death of Charles I. the little that remained of the old sport of the tournament dies too ; but it was only this pastime of the knights of old which disappeared. When, three hundred years ago, SHAKESPEARE recorded the history of chivalry, he with his infinite humanity and far-seeing vision told us that its ideals were not the distinction or the attribute of one class, but a living force in man of every condition of life :—

*“ And as the sun breaks through the darkest clouds
So honour peereth in the meanest habit.”*

(Taming of the Shrew, IV, 3).

*“the perfect ways of honour
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.”*

(Henry VIII., V, 4, 39).

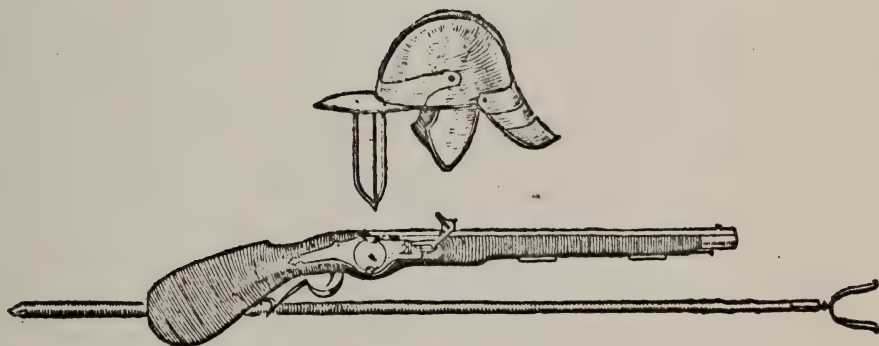
If to bear unimaginable hardship with cheerfulness and silent fortitude, to strike hard for right, to take no mean advantage, to be gentle to the weak, are some of the virtues of chivalry, then the democracy as represented by the millions on sea and land, fighting, working, enduring, for the rights of the heart over any “ mechanism of theory and regulation which systematic men attempt to impose on human flesh and blood ” (1), can claim to wear the flower of chivalry. They are holding high the banner of their country’s honour, when the controlling forces of law and religion are perforce silent. “ There are, if I may so say,” wrote Hallam, “ three powerful spirits, which

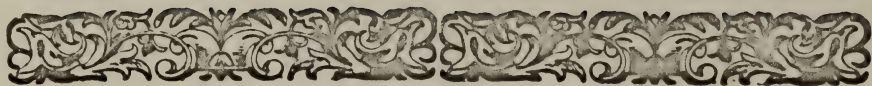
as to forsake him ; and choose rather to lose my life—which I am sure to do—to preserve and defend these things, which are against my conscience to preserve and defend).’ Valiant knight and stainless gentleman, he died for that loyalty which it irked his conscience to maintain ” (WINGFIELD-STRATFORD, *The History of English Patriotism*, p. 328).

(1) Sir W. Raleigh in *The Age of Elizabeth in Shakespeare’s England*, Vol. I, p. 44

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have from time to time moved over the face of the waters, and give a predominant impulse to the moral sentiments and energies of mankind. These are the spirits of liberty, of religion, and of honour. It was the principal business of chivalry to animate and cherish the last of these three. And whatever high magnanimous energy the love of liberty or religious zeal has ever imparted was equalled by the exquisite sense of honour which this institution preserved."





Appendix I.

DISSERTATION VI. SUR L'HISTOIRE DE SAINT LOUÏS PAR LE SIRE DE JOINVILLE, by CHARLES DU FRESNE, SEIGNEUR DU CANGE.(1)

Of the Origin and the Customs of Tournaments.(2)

All warrior races, making war their chief glory, have prepared themselves for it by military exercises, believing that they ought not to engage in it until they had first learned its maxims and rules. They desired to train their soldiers and teach them the use of their weapons before they led them against the enemy. *Ars enim bellandi, si non praeluditur, cum necessaria fuerit, non habetur*, says CASSIODORUS. It is for this reason that St. ISIDORE writes that the Goths, who were esteemed great warriors, in armorum artibus spectabiles, were accustomed to exercise themselves in mock contests : *Exercere enim sese telis ac praeliis praeludere maxime diligunt, ludorum certamina usu quotidiano gerunt*.

The French, the most bellicose of all nations, encouraged these games more than did other races. They invented tournaments and justs, which they established as a custom simply to keep their nobles in condition and ready for battle, so that a poet of that age wrote:—

*Ante homines domuisse feræ gens Gallica ab olim
Sanxit, et ad duos belli armorumque labores,
Exercere domi rigidae praeludia pugnae.*

And as tournaments were thus only devised to train the young nobles, they were called by THOMAS WALSHINGHAM, *ludi militares*, by ROGER OF HOVEDEN, *militaria exercitia*, by LAMBERT D'ARDRES, *gladiaturae*, by the author of *The History of Jerusalem*, *imaginariae bellorum proluiones*, and by WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH, *meditationes militares, armorum exercitia, belli praeludia, quae nullo interveniente odio, sed pro solo exercitio, atque ostentatione virium sebant*.

(1) DU CANGE, b. at Amiens, 1610, d. 1688. He edited in 1668 a text of *L'Histoire de St. Louis*, and published in 1678 his *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, which is an encyclopaedia for the Middle Ages.

(2) Translated by F. H. Cripps-Day. There is a translation into English of 1807 by J. Johnes, 2v., 4to.

ALEXANDER NECHAM, LAZIUS, CHIFFLET and other authors derive both the word and origin of the tournament from the horse races of the ancients, the *Trojae* and *Trojani ludi*, first invented by Aeneas, when he buried Anchises, his father, in Sicily, whence these races were afterwards introduced among the Romans. There is no doubt that these Trojan games may have been very like the tournament, and, as can be gathered from VIRGIL's description, they were not confined to horse races (as the PÈRE D'OUTREMAN has written), for VIRGIL tells us to the contrary in these lines :—

—*pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis,
Et nunc terga fugae mandant, nunc spicula vertunt
Infensi : facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.*

It is however certain that quite other exercises were included at tournaments and other combats. It is even probable that the word *tournois* is not derived from *Troja*, quasi *trajamentum*, as the authors quoted aver, but rather from the French word *tourner*, meaning to walk or run in a circle. PAPIAS thus interprets the word *tornat*, *in gyrum mittit*. A term which does not seem to be a new one, as PAULUS DIACONUS and the emperor MAURITIUS in his *Στρατηγικά* tells us that the word *torna* was used in battle, to order the soldiers to turn, as occasion required. Again many think that the women, termed *tornatrices* in HINCMAR, were so called because they danced in a circle. It is also the source from which our early French writers borrowed the word *returnar*, to be found in the treaty of peace between LOUIS and CHARLES LE CHAUVÉ, his brother, and *returnare* (used in the capitularies of this same CHARLES LE CHAUVÉ), a word which is commonly used by us to-day in the expression “revenir de quelque endroit.”

These military exercises were customary with the early French; at all events NITHARDUS tells us they were practised under the second dynasty of our kings. In describing the interview between LOUIS, King of Germany, and CHARLES LE CHAUVÉ, King of France, at Strasburg, and how they showed each other every mark of mutual regard, he adds, that, to make this meeting more solemn, mounted contests took place between the nobles of the suites of the two Princes to show their skill in arms: *Ludos etiam hoc ordine saepe causa exercitii frequentabant. Conveniebant autem quocumque congruum spectaculo videbatur: et subsistente hinc omni multitudine, primum pari numero Saxonorum, Wasconorum, Austrasiorum, Brittonorum, ex utraque parte, veluti sibi invicem adversari, vellent, alter in alterum veloci cursu ruebat: hinc pars terga versa protulit umbonibus ad socios insectantes evadere se velle simulabant. At versa vice iterum illos quos fugiebant persequi studebant: donec novissime utrique reges cum omni juventute, ingenti clamore, equis emissis, hastilia crispantes exiliunt, et nunc his, nunc illis terga dantibus, insistent. Eratque res digna pro tanta nobilitate nec non et moderatione spectaculo. Non enim quispiam, in tanta multitudine ac diversitate generis, uti saepe inter paucissimos, et notos contingere solet, alicui, aut laesionis, aut vituperii quippiam inferre audebat.* In view of this passage, it cannot be denied that tournaments took place before the time of the Kings of our third dynasty.

Nevertheless the old Chronicles attribute their invention to GEOFFROY SEIGNEUR DE PRUVILLY, the father of another GEOFFROY, from whom sprang the COMTES DE VENDÔME. The *Chronicle of Tours* gives this evidence: *Anno 1066 Gaufridus de Pruliaco, qui torneamenta invenit, apud Andegavum occiditur.* And that of St. MARTIN DE TOURS: *Anno Henrici imp. 7 et Philippi regis 6 fuit proditio apud Andegavum Gaufridus de Pruliaco et alii barones occisi sunt. Hic Gaufridus de Pruliaco torneamenta invenit.* On the other hand we

read in LAMBERT D'ARDRES that RAOUL COMTE DE GUINES, son of COMTE ARDOLPHE, coming to France to take part in tournaments, received in one of these contests a mortal wound from which he died. But RAOUL lived before GEOFFROY DE PREUILLY, for the same author notes that his son EUSTACHE, learning of the death of his father, immediately came to Flanders and did homage for his territory to the COMTE BAUDOUIN LE BARBU, who held the Comté de Flandres from the year 989 to 1034.

I am therefore of opinion that DE PREUILLY did not invent these combats or military exercises, but that he may have been the first to draw up their laws and rules, and to make the practice of tournaments more common and more frequent. And this is the more probable, because we do not come across the word *tourney* prior to this period. Besides most foreign writers frankly recognise that tournaments were peculiar to the French. For this reason MATTHEW PARIS calls the customary contests of the French, *conflictus gallici*, in this passage: *Henricus Rex Anglorum junior, mare transiens, in conflictibus gallicis et profusioribus expensis, triennium peregit, regiaque majestate prorsus deposita, totus est de rege translatus in militem, et flexis in gyrum frenis, in variis congressionibus triumphum reportans, sui nominis famam circumquaque resperxit.* RALPH OF COGGESHAL in his MS. Chronicle furnishes the same evidence when he writes that GEOFFREY DE MANDEVILLE died in London from a wound received, *dum more francorum cum hastis vel contis sese, cursim equitantes vicissim impeterent.*

Writers also remark that the French have been more skilled in these exercises than other nations. BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE, in his *Cortegiano*, speaks of the skill of the French: *Nel torneare tener un passo, combattere una sbarra.* And as the lance was the principal arm used in this kind of contest, the French have always excelled in its use: and this has made FOUCHER DE CHARTRES say they were, *probissimi bellatores, et mirabiles de lanceis percussores.* ALBERT D'AIX describes their lances; NICETAS, ANNA COMNENA and CINNAMUS pay this honor to the French nobility in complimenting them on their special skill in handling and using the lance. The English borrowed from the French the custom of tournaments which were first only known to them in the reign of STEPHEN, *cum perejus indecentem mollitiem nullus esset publicae vigoris disciplinae*, as WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH writes; for then and under HENRY II. who succeeded STEPHEN, the English, *Tyronum exercitiis in Anglia prorsus inhibitis qui forte armorum affectantes gloriam exerceri volebant, transfratantes in terrarum exercebantur confiniis.* This remark is confirmed by ROGER OF HOVEDEN and by BROMPTON when speaking of GEOFFREY COUNT OF BRITTANY, who had just been knighted by his father HENRY II., as coming to Normandy from England to take part in the tournaments in that province and in France, and as having the satisfaction of being ranked as a knight excelling in these contests. But RICHARD I. was the first to introduce the practice of tournaments into England, for this illustrious prince observed that the French were the more courageous because they were trained to them: *santo esse acriores quanto exercitiores atque instructiores, sui quoque regni milites in propriis finibus exerceri voluit, ut ex bellorum solenni praeludio, verorum addicerent artem usumque bellorum, nec insultarent Galli anglis militibus, tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris.* MATTHEW PARIS says the same thing, apparently in the year 1194. *Eodem tempore Rex Ricardus, in Angliam transiens, statim per loca certa torneamenta fieri, hac fortasse inductus ratione, ut milites regni undique concurrentes vires suas flexis in gyrum frenis experirentur: ut si bellum adversus Crucis inimicos, vel etiam finitimos, movere decreverint, agiliores ad praelium et exercitiores redderentur.* But this great King is blamed because, when he remarked the extraordinary ardour of his people for these military exercises, he took advantage of the occasion to impose a tax on those who wished to take part in them: *Rege id decernente, et a singulis qui exerceri vellent inditae pecuniae modulum exigente.*

In the same way the Germans only adopted tournaments from the French. I know well that MODIUS⁽¹⁾ traces their origin in that country from a much earlier date and gives accounts of tournaments supposed to have been held in Germany long before GEOFFROY DE PREUILLY. But even those little versed in history know that this book is full of fables, and it must be confessed that its author has passed all bounds when he gives us an Antoine Marquis de Pont à Mouçon, Claude Comte de Toulouse, Paul Duc de Bar, Ligore Comte de Bourgogne, Sigismond Comte d'Alençon, Louys Comte d'Armagnac, Philippe Comte d'Artois, Antoine Comte de Boulogne, and other imaginary princes, who according to him were with the EMPEROR HENRY I. in his war with the Hungarians. True MUNSTER has written that tournaments first took place in 1036 in Germany, in which year there was one in Magdeburg. If this be so, it occurred at the same time that PREUILLY invented them, and it is not improbable that the Germans learned from him simultaneously with the French.

But amongst the authors who have written on the tournament, the Greeks frankly acknowledge that their nation imitated the Latins, *i.e.*, the French, who were the inventors. NICEPHORUS GREGORAS speaks of them thus: *Εἶτα καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐξετέλεσε δύο, μίμησιν τινα τῶν Ὀλυμπιακῶν ἀποσώζοντας . . . οἳ δὴ τοῖς Λατίνοις πάλαι ἐπινειρόνται γυμνασίας ἔνεκα σώματος, ὅποτε σχολὴν ἀγοίεν τῶν πολεμικῶν.*

JOHANNES CANTACUZENA marks more distinctly the time when tournaments reached the east, *viz.*, when ANNE DE SAVOIE, daughter of AMÉ IV., COMTE DE SAVOIE, came to Constantinople to marry the young EMPEROR ANDRONICUS PALEOLOGUS (this marriage took place in 1326), for then the nobility of Savoy and of France accompanying the princess held tournaments in the capital of the empire and the Greeks learned of them: *Καὶ τὴν λεγομένην τζουστρίαν, καὶ τὰ τερνεμέντα αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἐδίδαξαν Ῥωμαίους οὕτω πρότερον περὶ τοιούτων εἰδότες οὐδέν.* But it is doubtful whether it was only then that the tournament was first practised in the Greek Empire. For NICETAS tells us that when the EMPEROR MANUEL COMNENUS was at Antioch the Greeks held a tournament with the Latins, and that he was so desirous of ceding nothing to the French in the dexterity of using the lance, that he personally fought on the side of his nation. More than this, he introduced justs into his own territory; CINNAMUS writes, that when he succeeded as head of the empire, he taught his people a new way of fighting, the use of long instead of round shields, lance exercise like that of the French, and good horsemanship; then he compelled them to train themselves in sporting contests, which were nothing else but tournaments. He writes thus: *Τὰς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνέσεις, πολέμων αὐτὸς ποιέισθαι θέλων παρασκευάς, ἱππέυεσθαι εἰώθη τὰ πολλὰ, σχῆμά τε πολέμων πεποιημένος, παρατάξεις τινὰς ἀντιμετώπους ἀλλήλαις ἴστα οὕτω τε δόρασιν ἐπελαύνων τοῖς αὐτοξύλοις κίνησιν ἐγυμνάσαντο τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.* ANNA COMNENA again seems to speak of these exercises of tournaments, and shows that to a certain extent they were practised in the empire under her father the Emperor ALEXIS I. *Ἐπιμελῶς τε ἐκπαιδεύειν ὅπως χρὴ τόξον τείνειν, καὶ δορὺ κραδαίνειν, ἵππον τε ἐλαύνειν, καὶ μερικὰς ποιέισθαι συντάξεις.* These last words mean tourneys or contests in troops.

The chief object of tournaments was to train those who made arms their profession, to make them bold and good lancers, and to teach them to use their weapons: *pro solo exercitio*

(1) *Pandectae Triumphales, sive, Pomparum et Festorum ac Solennium Apparatum, Conviviorum, Spectaculorum, Simulacrorum Bellicorum, Equestrium et Pedestrium etc.* 1586.

atque ostentatione virium, as WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH writes; γυμνασίας ἕνεκα σώματος, as GREGORY says; and finally, ut ex solenni bellorum praeludio verorum addisceretur ars usque bellorum. For there can be no great achievement in so difficult and dangerous a profession as that of arms without previous military training and proved capacity. ROGER OF HOVEDEN, speaking of tournaments, after quoting the passage of CASSIODORUS cited, adds the words: *Non potest athleta magnos spiritus ad certamen asserere, qui nunquam suggillatus est. Ille qui sanguinem suum vidit, cujus dentes crepuerunt sub pugno, ille qui supplantatus adversarium toto tulit corpore, nec projecit animum projectus, qui quoties cecidit contumacior surrexit cum magna spe descendit ad pugnam.*

As then fighting in tournaments was only to learn and train for the business of war, no arms which could wound were used in the lists. DION writes, that the Emperor Marcus Aurelius desired that gladiators should only use blunted swords with a button at the point: σιδήριον γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ὅξυ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμβλέσιν ὥσπερ ἑσφαιρωμένοις πάντες ἐμάχοντο.

Seneca calls this kind of arm *lusoria arma*, *lusoria tela*, and we in old French *des glaives courtois*, i.e., harmless lances, without any sharp iron heads. The *Traité des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* tells us that the knights, *ne portoient nules espées, fors glaives courtois, qui estoient de sapin ou d'if, avec cours fers, sans estre tranchans, ne esmoulus*. Even the *diseurs*, the judges of the tournament, swore the knights, who were to fight, *qu'ils ne porteroient espées, armures, ne bastons affustiez, ne enfonceroient leurs armes, ne estaquettes assises par iceux diseurs*, as is written in a MS., *Traité des Tournois*, but should fight *à espées sans pointe et rabatuës et auroit chascun tournoyant un baston pendu à sa selle, et feroient des dites espées et bastons tant qu'il plairoit aus dits diseurs*. Another *Traité des Tournois* adds that the knights *turnoioient d'espées rabatuës, les taillans et pointes rompuës, et de bastons, tels que à tournoy appartient, et devoient frapper de haut en bas sans tirer ne sans saquier*. The *Cry des Tournois* by JACQUES DE VALÈRE in his *Traité de la noblesse* says that the knights should be *montez et armez de nobles harnois de tournoy, chascun armoié de ses armes, en hautes selles, pissiere, et chanfrain, pour tournoyer de gratieuses espées, rabatuës, et pointes brisées, et de cours bastons*. And later it says that they ought to *fraper du haut en bas, sans le bouter d'estocq. ou hachier, ne tournoyer mal courtoisement*. Car en ce faisant il ne gaigneroit riens, ne point de prix d'armes n'auroit, mais l'amenderoit ou dit des juges. On this point an old authority writes that *torneamentum percutiendo, non etiam infringendo, juxta solitum exercetur*. If then a combattant acted otherwise, he was censured by the judges. MATTHEW PARIS, in 1252, records that ROGER DE LEMBURN, an English knight, mortally wounded HERNAUD DE MONTIGNY in the throat with the point of an unblunted lance: *lanceae mucrone, qui prout debebat non erat hebetatus*, and although he pleaded innocence, he was nevertheless suspected of treachery; but if anyone wounded or killed his opponent with the regular arms of the tournament, provided he did nothing contrary to the established laws of the tournament, he was not blamed. This is especially noted by GREGORAS in these words: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν τρώσαντα ἢ καὶ ἀποκτείνοντα, συμβάν οὕτωςί πως, κὰν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀμφοτέροισι, ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι σφίσι νόμιμον ἦν.*

The judges appointed for the tournament measured and examined the knights' lances and other weapons, and took care that they were not tied to their saddles, for this was forbidden by laws of the tournament, as is expressed in the MS. *Traité* which I have just cited, *A laquelle entrée se tiennent les susdits deux juges et officiers d'armes de la marche, lesquels ravissent leurs espées, pour sçavoir si elles sont raisonnables, et aussi le baston s'il est de muison*. The *Cry des Tournois*: "*Et lendemain tenir fenestre comme dessus, et apres dîner à l'heure dessus nommée*

venir de pleins rens, montez et armez à tout lances mesurées et muisonnées de lances de muison et courtois rochets : C'est assavoir mesurées à la guage qui y sera commise et ordonnée de messieurs les aventureux, sans estre liez ne attachez. Car se il estoit seu, ne trouvé, jajoit ce qu'il forjousast, si perdroit-il sen pris pour la journée : Et qui jousteroit de plus longue lance qu'il ne devoit, il perdroit la lance garnie. Et qui jousteroit de forcours, il peut bien perdre et rien gagner."

Although the inventors of tournaments and of their laws seem to have taken all the precautions necessary to avoid possible mishaps, yet very serious accidents frequently occurred in the heat of the contests through ill feeling or jealousy. For there were those who, no longer masters of themselves, lost their self control through passion and desire to win, and forgetful of the prescribed laws, did all they could to unhorse their adversaries as best they could. There were others who seized the opportunity to avenge themselves against their enemies. That was why it was thought necessary to oblige everyone to take his oath on being created a knight that he would only frequent tournaments to learn the exercises of war : *se tirocinia non nisi causa militaris exercitii frequentaturos*. These combats, begun for pleasure and exercise, often turned to quarrels and real wars. HENRY KNIGHTON, speaking of the tourney which took place at Chalons in 1274 where EDWARD I. and the English fought against the COMTE DE CHALONS and the Burgundians, relates how both sides behaved with such heat and jealousy that many dead were left on the field : *adeo ut non torneamentum, sed parvum bellum de Chalon communiter diceretur*. And MATTHEW PARIS speaking of another tourney in the year 1241 : *Fuerunt autem ibidem multi, tam milites quam armigeri, vulnerati, et clavis caesi, et graviter laesi, eo quod invidia multorum ludum in praelium commutavit*.

History is full of these disastrous accidents of the tournament. RAOUL COMTE DE GUINES lost his life in one, so tells LAMBERT D'ARDRES. ROBERT DE HIERUSALEM, COMTE DE FLANDRES, was mortally wounded in another, in England in 1216 GEOFFREY DE MANDEVILLE, EARL OF ESSEX, was killed. FLORENT COMTE DE HAINAULT, and PHILIPPE, COMTE DE BOULOGNE and DE CLERMONT, lost their lives similarly in a tournament held in the town of Corbie, in 1223, as did the COMTE DE HOLLANDE at one which was held in Neumague in 1234, GILBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE, in 1241, HERNAUD DE MONTIGNY, an English knight, in 1252, JEAN, MARQUIS DE BRANDEBOURG in 1269; the COMTE DE CLERMONT was so severely wounded in one in 1279, that he lost his reason; the son of the COUNT PALATINE OF THE RHINE lost his life tourneying in 1289; so did JEAN, DUC DE BRABANT, in 1294, and many others of great lineage, whom the authorities mention. These unhappy accidents made the popes prohibit tournaments, under grievous penalties, excommunicating all who were present, and prohibiting the burial in consecrated ground of those who lost their lives at them. INNOCENT II., EUGENIUS III., and ALEXANDER III. in the Lateran Council in the year 1179, were the first to thunder their ecclesiastical curses against tournaments, calling them : *detestabiles nundinas vel serias, quas vulgo torneamenta vocant, in quibus milites ex conducto convenire solent, et ad ostentationem virium suarum et audaciae temere congregiuntur, unde mortes hominum et pericula animarum saepe proveniunt*. This Council adds these words : "*Et si quis eorum ibi mortuus fuerit, quamevis ei poenitentia non denegetur, ecclesiastica tamen careat sepultura.*" INNOCENT III. likewise prohibited them for five years under pain of excommunication, which made CAESARIUS say that he found no difficulty in declaring that those who were killed in tournaments were damned :—*De his vero qui in torneamentis cadunt nulla questio est quin vadant ad inferos, si non fuerint adjuti beneficio contritionis*. He also speaks of a Spanish priest who had a vision of some knights, killed in a tournament, begging the help of the prayers of the faithful. And another vision can be quoted from Matthew Paris, who writes that, in the year 1227, ROGER DE TOURNY, a brave knight, appeared after his death to RAOUL his brother and spoke to him thus:

Jam et poenas vidi malorum, et gaudio beatorum; nec non supplicia magna, quibus miser deputatus sum, oculis meis conspexi. Vae! Vae mihi! quare unquam torneamenta exercui, et ea tanto studio dilexi? The *Grande Chronique Belgique* informs us how that, in the year 1240, there was a tournament at Nuys near Cologne, after Whitsuntide, when sixty knights and squires lost their lives, for the most part suffocated by the dust, and that, after their deaths, the cries were heard of devils hovering over the corpses in the guise of crows and vultures. This is why ST. BERNARD (in his autobiography), CAESARIUS, and LAMBERT D'ARDRES, after the manner of the Councils, speak of the tournament as, *nundinae execrabiles et maledictae*.

INNOCENT IV. was no less rigorous than his predecessors in attempting to suppress tournaments. But, as he could not stop them entirely, at the Council held at Lyons in 1245 he prohibited them for three years, making the excuse that they prevented the nobility from going to the wars in Palestine. Another reason given was the expense and this they attempted to check; there were other costs connected with them all of which the church alleged to be superfluous and also to prevent the nobility from making their proper provision for the Crusades. LAMBERT D'ARDRES: *Cum omnino tunc temporis propter Domini sepulchri peregrinationem in toto orbe interdicta fuissent torneamenta*. And in truth enormous expenses at these contests were incurred by the nobility, for their magnificent dress, for their suites, for their horses or for the long journeys they made to attend them: this made CARDINAL JACQUES DE VITRY remark when speaking of the people as suffering from these expenses of the nobility: *Maxime cum eorum domini prodigalitati vacantes et luxui, pro torneamentis et pomposa saeculi vanitate expensis superfluis et debitis astringebantur et usuris*. And the same LAMBERT D'ARDRES speaks of the extravagance of ARNOUL LE JEUNE, SEIGNEUR D'ARDRES: *Licet extra patriam munificus et liberalis, et expensaticus diceretur, et circa militiam quidquid militantium et torneamentantium consuetudo poscebat et ratio, quasi prodigaliter expenderet*.

POPE NICHOLAS IV. was equally zealous in stopping tournaments, particularly in France, where they were more frequent than in other countries; he excommunicated those who contravened his prohibitions; and when the papal legate to France, Cardinal SANTA-CECILIA, after he had published the prohibitions, granted a *supersedeas* for three years at the request of the King, the pope sternly reprimanded the legate in a letter, which is to be found in *Les Annales Ecclesiastiques*.

CLEMENT V. likewise prohibited tournaments, chiefly because of his design to make the Christian princes undertake war against the infidels. His bull is dated from Peraen de Gransilie, near Malaucena, in the diocese of Bazas, the 14 September in the eighth year of his pontificate from which I have extracted that part relating to my subject. *Cum enim in torneamentis et justis in aliquibus partibus fieri solitis multa pericula immincant animarum et corporum, quorum destructiones plerumque contingunt, nemini vertitur in dubium sanae mentis, quin illi qui torneamenta faciunt, vel fieri procurant, impedimentum procurant passagio faciendo, ad quod homines, equi, et pecunia et expensae fore necessaria dinoſcuntur; quorum torneamentorum factura cum gravis poenae adjectione a nostris praedecessoribus est interdicta*.

But the enthusiasm of the nobility for any opportunity to show courage in times of peace was so great, that no ecclesiastical curse or papal bull could stem the tide which made WILLIAM OF NEWBURGH say: *Licet solennem illum tironum concursum tanta sub gravi censura vetuerit pontificum autoritas fervor tamen juvenum armorum vanissimam affectantium gloriam, gaudens favore principum probatos habere tirones volentium ecclesiasticae provisionis sprevit decretum*. And HENRY OF KNIGHTON in 1191: *Fiebant interea ad tironum exercitium intermissa diu torneamenta, quasi bellorum praeludia, nonobstante papali prohibitione*.

Since the danger of the tournaments was so great that it first made the popes prohibit them under pain of excommunication, it was thought expedient that at least sovereigns and princes of royal blood should not take part in them on account of the importance of their individual lives. Du TILLET relates how PHILIPPE-AUGUSTE, in 1209, made LOUIS DE FRANCE, his eldest son, and PHILIPPE COMTE DE BOULOGNE, his other son, swear that they would not go without his permission to any tournament under the pretext of showing courage and winning the prize; he allowed them, however, to attend any tournament taking place near, if they carried no arms like knights, but only wore the *hailecret*(1) and *armes*. PETRARCH, writing to HUGUES, MARQUIS DE FERRARA, says that only ordinary knights could go to tournaments, as they had no other way or opportunity to show their courage and skill, and as their deaths were of little consequence, but that princes, who could prove their courage in a thousand other ways, and whose lives were of importance to their peoples, ought not to go.

We read, however, not only of the presence of princes of importance at these military exercises fighting like ordinary knights, but of emperors and kings. NICETAS writes that the Emperor MANUEL COMNENUS fought in company with the Greeks at a tournament held by the PRINCE RAYMOND at Antioch, and that he unhorsed two French knights with one thrust with his lance, one falling on the top of the other. The Emperor ANDRONICUS PALEOLOGUS, THE YOUNGER, fought at a tournament which he held at Didymothycos, in honour of the birth of his son, JOHN. EDWARD I., King of England, took part in a tournament at Chalons, as I have already remarked. FROISSART relates how CHARLES VI., at the marriage of GUILLAUME DE HAINAULT with MARGUERITE DE BOURGOGNE, solemnised at Cambray in 1385, *jousta à un chevalier de Hainaut, qui s'appeloit Nicole d'Espinois*. FRANÇOIS I^{er} and HENRY VIII., Kings of France and England, at their interview between Ardres and Guines, in 1520, justed in the tournament which took place there. And finally HENRI II. tilted in Paris with the COMTE DE MONTGOMERY, and died from a wound to the eye.

Lay princes sometimes prohibited tournaments, but not for the same reasons as the popes. GUILLAUME DE NANGIS writes that when St. Louis heard in 1260 from the Pope of the defeat of the Christians by the infidels, in the Holy Land and in Armenia, he ordered public prayers, and prohibited tournaments for two years. He would only permit exercises with bow and crossbow to be practised. PHILIPPE LE HARDY revoked for a time the prohibitions against jousts and tournaments by an *Ordonnance* registered by the Parliament of Whitsuntide 1280. These prohibitions were commonly made during the wars between our kings and their neighbours, as may be gathered from the *Ordonnances* of PHILIPPE LE BEL in 1304 and 1305, to be read in the register of *Le Trésor des Chartres du Roy*. From another *Ordonnance* on the last day but one of December, 1311, and inserted in the *Registre de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris* (communicated to me by Monsieur D'HEROUVAL), an extract is here given, when the same king offers no other pretext than that of the disorders which are occasioned by them. *Phillipus, D. G. Francorum rex, universis et singulis baronibus, et quibuscumque nobilibus regni nostri, nec non omnibus baillivis et senescallis, et aliis quibuscumque justitiariis regni ejusdem, ad quos præsentes litterae pervenerint, salutem. Periculis et incommodis quae ex torneamentis, congregationibus armatorum, et armorum portationibus in diversis regni nostri partibus hactenus provenisse noscuntur, obviare volentes, ac super hoc prorsus nostro [pro futuro] tempore, prout ex officii nostri debito tenemur, salubriter providere, vobis et cuilibet vestrum sub fide qua nobis tenemini, et sub*

(1) Breast and back plates, an old French term.

omni poena quam vobis infligere possumus, praecipimus et mandamus quatenus congregationes armatarum et armorum portationes facere, vel ad torneamenta accedere, quas et quae praesentibus prohibemus sub poena praedicta, ullatenus de cetero praesumatis, nec in contrarium fieri permittatis a quocunque, vosque senescalli, baillivi et justitarii nostri praedicti in assisiis, et aliis in locis vestris ac ressorts eorum facietis praedicta celeriter publicari. Contrarium attentantes capiatis cum eorum similis, equis, armis, harnesiis, necnon terris et haereditatibus eorum. Quas terras et haereditates cum aliis eorum quibuscumque bonis teneatis et explectis sine omni deliberatione de [vel] recedentia facienda de his sine nostro speciali mandato. Praemissam torneamentorum prohibitionem durare volumus, quamdiu nostrae placuerit voluntati, ex [et] omnibus subjectis nostris sub fide qua nobis alstricti tenentur, torneamenta hujusmodi prohibemus. Datum Pissiaci penultima die decemb. an. D. 1311.

PHILIPPE LE LONG likewise prohibited tournaments by an *Ordonnance Générale* of the 23rd October, 1318, and issued a special decree of the 8th February in the next year, addressed to the BAILLY DE VERMANDOIS. The King gave his reason for the prohibition in these terms: *Quar se nous les souffrions à faire, nous ne pourrions pas avoir les nobles de nostre royaume si prestement pour nous aidier à notre guerre de Flandres, etc.*

At times tournaments and jousts have been prohibited temporarily on account of some great solemn fête, in the fear that great lords, seigneurs and knights would prefer to show their skill at these contests, and absent themselves from the ceremonies which would consequently have suffered in their impressiveness. And so PHILIPPE LE BEL when he contemplated creating his sons *chevaliers*, to add to the grandeur of the ceremony, issued such a prohibition in 1312, by an *Ordonnance* [here copied from the original preserved in the *Chambre des Comptes* of Paris], which I do not hesitate to print in full, the more so as it speaks of a form of tournament or joust which it calls *tupineiz*, a term unknown to me, which I have never come across elsewhere. Perhaps it has the same meaning as *Round Table*. The *Ordonnance* was communicated to me, amongst many other documents, by M. d'HEROUL. "*Philippe, par le Grace de Dieu roy de France, à nostre gardien de Lions, salut. Comme nous entendons à donner à nostre tres cher ainzné fils Loys, roy de Navarre, comte de Champagne, et de Brie Palazin, et à nos autres deux fils, ses frères, en ce nouveau temps ordre de chevalerie: et ja pieça par plusieurs fois nous eussions fait défendre généralement par tout nostre royaume toutes manières d'armes et de tournoiemens, et que nuls sur quanques il se pooient meffaire envers nous, n'allast à tournoiemens en nostre royaume ne hors, ou feist ne alast à joustes, tupineiz, ou fist autres fais ou portemens d'armes, pource que plusieurs nobles et grans personnes de nostre garde se sont fait faire, et se sont accoustumez de eux faire faire chevaliers esdits tournoiemens, et non contrestant cette général defense, plusieurs nobles personnes de nostre dite garde aient esté et soient allez au tournoiement par plusieurs fois à joustes, à tupineiz, tant en nostre royaume comme dehors, et en autres plusieurs fais d'armes en enfreignant nostre dite defense, et en iceux tournoiemens plusieurs se soient fait faire chevaliers, et seur ce qu'ils ont fait contre nostre dite defense vous n'ayez mis remede, laquelle chose nous desplaist moult forment: Nous vous mandons et commandons si estroitement comme nous poons plus, et sur peine d'encourre nostre malivolence, que tous ceux que vous saurez de nostre garde qui ont esté puis nostre dite defense à tournoiemens, joustes, tupineiz, ou en autres fais d'armes, ou que ce ait esté en nostre royaume, ou hors, que vous sans delay les faciez prandre et mettre en prison pardevers vous en mettant en nostre main tous leurs biens. Et quant il seront devers vous en prison, si leur faites amander ce qu'il auront fait contre nostre dite defense: et ce fait si leur recidez leur biens, et avec ce quant il auront amendé si leur faites jurer sus sains, et avec ce leur defendez de par nous sus poine d'ancourir nostre indignation et de tenir prison chacun un an, et sus poine de perdre une année chacun les fruiz de sa terre, qu'ils tendront les ordenances que nous avons fait sus le fait d'armes, qui sont teles: C'est asavoir que nuls se soit si hardi de nostre royaume qui voist à tournoiemens, à joustes, tupineiz ou en autre fait d'armes, soit en nostre royaume*

ou hors, jusques à la feste S. Remy prochaine venant, et leur faites bien savoir que encores avons nous ordéné que s'il font au contraire de ce, que leurs chevaux et leur harnois nous avons abandonné aux seigneurs sous qui jurisdiction il seront trouvé et quant il auront ensi juré, si leur delivrez leur cors. Encore vous mandons nous que l'ordenance dessusdite vous faciez crier et publier solempnellement, sans delay, par les lieux de vostre garde, où vous saurez qu'il sera à faire, et de defendre de par nous que nuls ne soit si hardy sur la peine dessusdite d'aler aux armes à tournoiements, joustes, ou tupaieiz, en nostre royaume, ou hors, jusques à ladite feste de S. Remy, et faites cette besoigne si diligemment, que vous n'en puissiez estre repris de negligence, au de inobedience, auquel cas se il avient, nous vous punirons en tele maniere, que vous vous en apercevrez. Donné à Fontainebliaut, le 28^e iour de decemb. l'an de grace 1312."





Appendix II.

DISSERTATION VII. SUR L'HISTOIRE DE SAINT LOUIS PAR LE SIRE DE JOINVILLE, by CHARLES DU FRESNE, SEIGNEUR DU CANGE⁽¹⁾.

Contests à outrance, Jousts, the Round Table, Behourds, and the Quintain.

The tournament, which I have just described, was only a game and an amusement for the exercise of the nobility; for this reason only blunted weapons were used and if sometimes fatal accidents happened, it was contrary to the intention of those who invented tournaments and who tried to make and enforce rules and laws to remedy the evil. But in course of time new laws and new customs arose; and some of these contests were fought with the weapons of war, that is to say with sharp swords and pointed lances. Whence MATTHEW PARIS called this kind of tournament *torneamentum aculeatum et hostile*, because the two parties met armed with the same weapons as they would have used against enemies. We French writers have named these contests *armes à outrance*, in so much as they rarely ended without the shedding of blood or the death of those who entered the lists, or without the surrender and avowal of guilt of the unhorsed and conquered combatant.

The *ordonnance* of PHILIPPE LE BEL on duels and the essay on the same subject by HARDOUIN DE LA JAILLE, dedicated to RENÉ, King of Sicily, lay down several cases in which it was to be held that a man was defeated in a duel. The first, when one of the combatants confesses to the crime of which he is accused and surrenders voluntarily to his accuser; the second, when one of the parties is thrown out of the lists or takes to flight; the third, when one of the parties is killed. For in all these cases *le gage de bataille estoit outré*, in the words of the King [here ANDRÉ FAVYN has erroneously written *otroie*]; in a word, the contest has ended by death, flight, or confession of one of the parties. *Outrer* meant really to pierce your enemy with the lance or sword; whence we say, *il lui a percé le corps d'outre en outre*. Compare the words of ROBERT DE BOURRON, in his *Roman de Merlin*: *Il ne cuide pas qu'il ait un seul chevalier el monde qui dusques à outrance, le puest mener, ou dusques à la mort*. GEORGES CHÂTELLAIN in his *Histoire de Jacques de Lalain, chevalier de la toison d'or*, has also used the word in this sense: *Mais ne demeura gueres de grand haste et ardeur que le seigneur de Haquet avoit de servir es outrer messire Simon de Lalain*.

(1) ante p. i. (n).

The term *armes à outrance* was particularly applied to those contests with weapons of war, not fought by decree of a judge but by mutual agreement and consent before judges named and selected by the combatants under conditions mutually agreed upon; and these contests, if *single* (i.e. between man and man), differed from duels which always took place by decree of a judge.

Contests *à outrance* took place usually between men who were enemies or of different nationalities, subjects of different princes, by challenges and under conditions, borne by kings-at-arms and heralds. Princes, for this purpose, gave, to those who were going to fight, letters of safe conduct within the confines of their several territories. The judges were also chosen by Princes, who themselves occasionally acted in this capacity. Very often the challenges were in general terms without mention of the names of those who were going to fight; the number of challengers, the weapons and the number of courses were alone notified, whence JACQUES VALÈRE in his *Traité de la Noblesse* calls this type of contest *champs à articles, ou à outrance* on account of the conditions drawn up, and FROISSART terms them *joutes mortelles et à champ*. Although the number of courses run was ordinarily limited, the parties often did not separate before someone was killed or severely wounded. This is why FROISSART, when he describes the combat between RENAUD DE ROYE, a knight of Picardy, and JOHN DE HOLLAND, an English knight, writes thus: *Or, regardez le péril, où tels gens se mettoient, pour leur honneur exaucer; car en toutes choses n'a qu'une seule misaventure et qu'un coup à meschef*. And again describing the contest between PIERRE DE COURTENAY, an English knight, and the SEIGNEUR DE CLARY in Picardy: *Puis leur furent bailléz leurs glaives à pointes acérées de Bourdeaux, tranchans et affilez. Es fers n'y avoit point d'espargne, fors l'aventure, telle que les armes l'envoient*.

These contests, although deadly, generally took place between men who were strangers to each other, or who at all events had little cause of quarrel, solely to show their courage, generosity and skill at arms. It was for this reason that general laws and rules for this sort of combat were drawn up, from which however occasionally departures were proposed and agreed upon. A most general rule was that in combats of sword and lance the combatant should strike *entre les quatre membres*, and that if he struck elsewhere, he should be reprimanded or condemned by the judges: whence we find FROISSART, speaking of a knight who struck his opponent on the thigh, *qu'il fut dit que c'estoit villainement poussé*. The penalty imposed on any one not observing the laws of the contest was the loss of his armour and horse. The same author elsewhere writes: *Les Anglois virent bien qu'il s'estoit mesfait, et qu'il avoit perdu armes et cheval si les François vouloient*. MATTHEW PARIS furnishes us with endless examples of this kind of contest, as do FROISSART, D'ORVILLE in his *Histoire de Louys Duc de Bourbon*, GEORGES CHÂTELLAIN, MONSTRELET, COXTON, and other authors; we find that these contests were held as a general rule as a preliminary to a general battle between opposing armies, so says RODERIC, Archbishop of Toledo: *Agareni etiam in modum torneamenti, circa ultimam partem castrorum, quaedam belli praeludia attentabant*. So that the term *tournoier* was used to describe the small contests with the enemy before a battle, called by writers *bellum campale*. A letter of D'ARNAUD, Archbishop of Narbonne, on the subject of the victory gained by the Kings of Castille, of Arragon and of Navarre over the Moors in 1212, speaking of the *escarmouches* on the eve of the battle, runs thus: *Arabibus etiam ex parte ipsorum torneantibus cum nostris, non more francico, sed secundum aliam suam consuetudinem torneandi cum lanceis sine cannis*. The SIRE DE JOINVILLE mentions a mortal just between a Genoese knight and a Saracen.

Sometimes combats *à outrance* were fought between knights who were not national

enemies, the challenge being to all those who should enter the lists, subject to conditions drawn up by the challengers. This type of contest is called by MATTHEW PARIS *torneamentum quasi hostile*, for, although not a contest arising from personal animosity the results were similar, as the peril was the same, the weapons being those of war. We have a singular instance of this kind of tournament proposed and *enterprised* by JEAN, DUC DE BOURBON, in 1414; and as the letter of the challenge (not hitherto printed) gives the usual ceremonial in this kind of contest, I insert it here. My authority is from the *Memoires de M. de Peiresc*, from which I have taken it: *Nous, Jean Duc de Bourbonnois, Comte de Clermont, de Foix, et de l'Isle, seigneur de Beaujeu, per et chambrier de France, desirans eschiver oisiveté et expleter nostre personne, en aduansant nostre honneur par le mestier des armes, pensant y acquerir bonne renommée, et la grace de la très-belle de qui nos sommes seruiteurs, auon n'agueres voullé et empris que nous, accompagné de seize autres chevaliers et escuyers de nom et d'armes, c'est asauoir l'admiral de France, messire Jean de Chalon, le seigneur de Barbascn, le seigneur du Chastel, le seigneur de Gaucourt, le seigneur de la Heuze, le seigneur de Gamiaches, le seigneur de S. Remy, le seigneur de Monsures, messire Guillaume Baraille, messire Droiet d'Asnieres, le seigneur de la Fayette, et le seigneur de Poularques, chevaliers: Carnalet, Loys Cochet, et Jean du Pont, escuyers, porterons en la jambe senestre chascun un fer de prisonnier pendant à une chaisne, qui seront d'or pour les chevaliers, et d'argent pour les escuyers, par tous les dimanches de deux ans entiers, commençans le dimanche prochain après la date de ces presentes, ou cas que plûtost ne trouuerons pareil nombre de chevaliers et escuyers de nom et d'armes, sans reproche, que tous ensemblement nous veuillent combattre à pied jusques à outrance, armez chascun de tels harnois qu'il luy plaira, portant lance, hasche, espée et dague, ou moins de baston, de telle longueur que chascun voudra auoir, pour estre prisonniers les uns des autres, par telle condition que ceux de nostre part qui seront outrez soient quittes en baillant chascun un fer et chaisne pareils à ceux que nous portons: et ceux de l'autre part qui seront outrez seront quittes chascun pour un bracelet d'or aux chevaliers, et d'argent aux escuyers, pour donner là où bon leur semblera, etc.* Another clause made it known that the contest was to take place in England. ITEM, et serons tenu nous due de Bourbonnois quand nous irons en Angleterre, ou devant le juge que sera accordé, de le faire scauoir à tous ceux de notre compaignie que ne seroient pardeçà, et de bailler à nosdits compaignons telles lettres de monseigneur le Roy, qui leur seront nécessaires pour leur licence et congé, etc. Fait à Paris, le premier de janvier, l'an de grace 1414.

In the same way as there were contests of this general character so there were those which were purely personal. Such was that of PHILIPPE BOYLE, a knight of Arragon, against JOHN ASTLEY, an English esquire, which took place in London before HENRY VI., who desired to be the judge and who, after it was over, knighted ASTLEY and gave him 100 marks of silver. The same esquire had previously fought in a similar kind of combat with PIERRE MASSE, a French esquire, on this condition, that the conqueror should receive the helmet of the defeated combatant, as a prize to present to his mistress. This contest took place in Paris opposite St. Antoine, on the 29 August 1428 before CHARLES VII., when the Englishman wounded the Frenchman in the head with his lance. PHILIPPE BOYLE, the knight of Arragon, had stated in his challenge that he had been ordered to fight à outrance any knight or esquire for the honour and on the service of his master the King of Arragon and Sicily, and as he had found no one in France to fight him he had crossed to England to fulfil his *emprise*, with the stipulation that the victor should receive the helmet or the sword of the vanquished as a mark of victory. Similar contests, were those of the chevalier POTON DE SAINTRAILLE with LIONEL DE VANDONNE, a knight of Boulogne, in April 1423 at Arras, and with NICOLAS MENTON, a knight, at the same place, in 1429, in the presence of a vast concourse of nobles.

The word *tournament* was a general term which comprised all contests performed by way of exercise. But accurately speaking *tournaments* were contests between numbers on either side, many fighting many others at the same time, as in a battle. It is thus that NICEPHORAS GREGORAS describes the tournaments of the Latins : *Μερίζονται κἀν-ταῦθα κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ δήμους, καὶ φρατρίας, καὶ ὀπλιζονται πάντες ὁμοῦ*; and THOMAS OF WALSHINGHAM writes of the tournament of Chalons, of which I have elsewhere spoken : *Die itaque statuto congregiuntur partes, gladiisque in alterutrum ingemenantes ictus, vires suas exercent*. At the close of these general contests the individual combats took place : then came the opportunity to those who were restless to prove their skill and courage ; they fought with sword or lance against all comers. The courses run by each were generally limited to three. These fights were called by the French *joustes*. Thus writes WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY : *Tentavere primò regii praeludium pugnae facere, quod justam vocant, quia tali arte erant periti*. It is not easy to trace the origin of the word *just* unless it is to be explained as derived from the Latin *juxta*, and the French *jouste*, because these contests between two combatants were fought close together. GREGORAS, who also calls them *joustes*, *τζούστρα* as does JEAN CANTACUZENE, says they represented a form of duel, and had *μονομαχίας ἐνδείξιν*. JEAN, a monk of MAIRMOUTIER, in his *Histoire de Geoffroy, duc de Normandie*, describing the tournament between the Norman knights and the Bretons at the marriage of the Duke, says that after the fighting by troops, the Normans proposed justs : *Normanni vero confusione inopiniata dejecti, singulare certamen Britonibus proponunt*. And from that the recluse of Moliens, in his *Miserere*, makes use of the words *gagner joustes au tournoy*, that is to say, to win the prize for single combat in the tournament. The just, performed by JEAN, DUC DE BRABANT in 1294, is thus described in *La grande Chronique de Flandres* : *Sed nobilissimus princeps, cum eo die . . . ab omnibus optaretur, ut suae militiae probitatem armorum exercitio praesentibus ostentaret, annuit votis optantium, et circa horam vespertinam armis accinctus, unum ex praesentibus praecipuae probitatis militem ad singularem concursum elegit, cui scilicet eques occurreret, et ambo sese lancearum incursionibus per deputatas ad hoc vices exercent, etc.*

Justs were held not only as part of a tournament but also as a sport in themselves. Proclamations and the crying of them were made on behalf of the knights, who proposed them. These knights offered to fight against all comers, man to man, at appointed places and under conditions contained in their letters of challenge. In the *Histoire du Maréchal Boucicaut* : these contests are called *joustes à tous venans, grandes et plénieres*. It was a greater honour to fight in tourneys than in justs, and this appears from the fact that those who fought in their first tourney had to give their heaumes to the king-at-arms and heralds, just as those who fought in their first just had to do. But anyone, who had fought in a tourney and then for the first time fought in a just, had not to give his heaume a second time to the herald, not so a knight who had fought in a just and then for the first time fought in a tourney, for he had to leave his heaume. We learn this from the MS. *Traité des tournois* : *ITEM pour les nobles qui tournoient, s'ils n'ont autrefois tournoié, doivent leurs heaumes aux officiers d'armes, ores qu'ils ont autrefois jousté ; car la lance ne peut affranchir l'espée, mais l'espée affranchit la lance. Mais il est à noter si un noble homme tournoie, et qu'il ait païé son heaume, il est affranchi du heaume de la jousté : mais le heaume de la jousté ne peut affranchir celui du tournoy*. Whence we gather, too, that the sword was the weapon of the tourney, and the lance of the just.

These *jôles plénieres*, of which I have just spoken, were accurately speaking what were called combats of the *Round Table*, which writers often confound with justs. For they

remark that they differed from tournaments, in that combats of tournament were contests in troops, while those of the Round Table were single combats. MATTHEW PARIS writes in 1252: *Milites ut exercitio militari peritiam suam et strenuitatem experirentur, constituerunt unanimiter, non in hastiludio illo quod communiter et vulgariter torneamentum dicitur, sed potius in illo ludo militari, qui Mensa Rotunda dicitur, vires attentarent.* Then he adds that the knights present justed: *Et secundum quod constitutum est in illo ludo martio, illa die et crastina quidam milites anglici nimis et viriliter, et delectabiliter, ita ut omnes alienigenae ibidem praesentes admirarentur, jocabantur.* The bull of CLEMENT V. (already mentioned), confuses in the same way combats of the Round Table with justs: *Quin etiam in faciendis justis praedictis, quae Tabulae Rotundae in aliquibus partibus vulgariter nuncupantur, eadem damna et pericula imminent quae in torneamentis praedictis, idcirco certa causa idem jus statuendum existit.* We infer, too, that justs are referred to in this passage of ALBERIC: *Multi Flandriae barones apud Hesdinum, ubi se exercebant ad Tabulam Rotundam, cruce signantur.* MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER writes in 1352: *Factum est hastiludium, quod Tabula Rotunda vocatur, ubi periit strenuissimus miles Hernaldus de Munteinni; [in the year 1285]: Multi nobiles transmarini . . . apud Neuyn in Suanduna, in choreis et hastiludiis, Rotundam Tabulam celebrarunt; [in the year 1295]; eodem anno dux Brabantiae, vir magni nominis, fecit Rotundam Tabulam in partibus suis . . . et ipse dux in primo congressu a quodam milite Franciae lanceâ percussus, obiit ipso die.* THOMAS OF WALSHINGHAM: *Illustris miles Rogerus de Mortuo mari apud Kelingworthe ludum militare, quem vocant Rotundam Tabulam, centum militum, ac tot dominarum constituit, ad quam pro armorum exercitio de diversis regnis confluit militia multa nimis.* Nearly the same thing is recorded of this Roger de Mortimer in MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER in 1279 and in the *History of the Priory of Wigmore (England.)*

The romances of old gave the credit of inventing tournaments, justs and the *Round Table*, to the famous Arthur, King of Britain. The English even believe to this day that the table itself is to be seen attached to the walls of the old Palace of Winchester. The learned CAMDEN calls this in question and says that the table is of a much more recent manufacture. THOMAS OF WALSHINGHAM records that EDWARD III built a part of Windsor Castle, calling it the *Round Table*, with a diameter of 200 feet. The old *Chronique de Bohême* makes the same error: *Accesserunt ad Regem quidam juvenes baronum filii, plus levitate quam strenuitate moti, dicentes: Domine Rex, per torneamenta et hastiludia . . . vestra diffundetur gloria . . . edicite itaque Tabulam Rotundam regis Artusii Curiam, et gloriam ex hac reportabilis perpetuis temporibus reportandam.*

Many think, with much probability, that these justs were so called because the knights, taking part in them, returned to sup with the organiser of the justs at a round table, as was done by the old nobles of Gaul who, according to ATHENAEUS, sat at a round table, each with his esquire behind him, and this was done presumably to avoid disputes as to precedence. The *Traité des Tournois* notes that on the return of the knights after the tournament or justs to their hostels, they disarmed themselves and washed their faces, and then supped with the lord who organised these military exercises; whilst they were seated at table feasting, the chief judges called *discurs*, with the king-at-arms, accompanied by two knights of his choice, proceeded to decide in the following way who had been the most successful. They asked the opinion of each knight, who had taken part in the combat. These named three or four of those who had best acquitted themselves, and of that number one was selected to whom the prize was awarded.

As the French were not less courteous than courageous in arms, they were often selected as judges of tournaments and justs. From *Le Vieux Cérémonial*, we learn: *Le*

Roy Artus d'Angleterre et le duc de Lancastre ordonnerent et firent la Table Ronde et les behours, tournois et joustes, et moult d'autres choses nobles, et jugemens d'armes, dont ils ordonnerent pour juger, dames et damoiselles, roys d'armes et héraux. The author of the MS. *Chronique Latine*, beginning with 1380 and ending with 1415, describes the ceremony, at which Louis II., King of Sicily, and CHARLES his brother were created knights by King CHARLES VI. in 1389, and records that tournaments and jousts then took place, and mentions the award of the prize by the ladies: *Tum Dominae, quarum ex arbitrio sententia brachii dependebat, nominarunt quos honorandos et praemiandos singulariter censuerunt.* The *Traité des Tournois* does not say that the ladies were judges, but that they gave the prize, which was *au mieux frappant une espée de tournoy, et au mieux défendant un heaume tel qu'à tournoy appartient.* With the Greeks, the laws prohibited the presence of women at gymnastic contests, as the scholiast of PINDAR remarks, and the reason is given by AELIAN in these terms: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀγωνίας καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν σωφροσύνης νόμος ἐλάυνει τὰς γυναικας.*

Under *justs* may be classed *Pas d'armes*, contests enterprised by one or more knights. They chose some locality, generally in an open country, such as a pass or defile, which could only be got through by fighting those who defended it against all comers. MATTHEW PARIS gives the name to narrow passes, called by Latin writers: *clusae, clausae, clausurae.* *Dum per quoddam iter arctissimum, quod vulgariter Passus dicitur, forent transi-turi.* Those who enterprised these *Pas* suspended their armorial shields at one end of the lists, together with others of simple but different colors, which shewed the nature of the enterprises and of the weapons to be used in the contests; so that those who had come to fight could choose the kind of contest they desired, by touching a particular shield. At the *Pas de l'Arc Triumphant*, organised by FRANÇOIS, DUC DE VALOIS ET DE BRETAGNE, and his nine knights "of name and of arms," which took place in Paris at the marriage of Louis XII. in 1514, in the Rue St. Antoine, there were suspended on the triumphal arch five shields: the first of silver, the second of gold, the third black, the fourth tawny, and the fifth grey. The first meant a contest of four courses with the lance, the second of one course with the lance and strokes with the sword without limit, the third on foot thrusting with the lance and strokes with a one-hand sword, the fourth hurling the lance on foot and strokes with a two-hand sword, the fifth the defence of a *behourd* or bastion. The manner of fighting was set out at length in the challenge and the conditions on behalf of the enterpriser were cried by the heralds in the provinces and in foreign lands. Where hung the shields stood officers of arms, whose business it was to take and record in order the names of those who touched the shields. It seems that this kind of just was more usual in the later periods; we have examples in the *Histoire de Georges Châtellain*, in the *Science Héroïque* (1) du SIEUR DE LA COLOMBIÈRE, and in his *Théâtre d'Honneur* (2). The tourney or just in which Henri II lost his life was also a *Pas d'armes*, and as the cartel which proclaimed them is no ordinary one, but a curious historical document, it will not be unsuitable to insert it here:

"DE PAR LE ROY. Après que par une longue guerre, cruelle et violente, les armes ont esté exercées et exploitées en divers endroits avec effusion de sang humain, et autres pernicieux actes que la guerre produit, et que Dieu par sa sainte grace, clémence et bonté, a voulu donner repos à cette affligée chrétienté par une bonne et seure paix, il est plus que raisonnable que chacun se mette en devoir avec toutes demonstrations de joyes, plaisirs et allegresses, de louer et celebrer un si grand bien,

(1) Paris, 1644, fo.

(2) *Le Vray Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie*, Paris, 1648, 2v., fo.

qui a converti toutes aigreurs et inimitiez en douceurs et parfaites amitez, par les estreoltes alliances de consanguinité qui se font moiennant les mariages accordez par le traité de ladite paix. C'est à sçavoir de tres haut, tres-puissant et tres-magnanime prince Philippe, roy catholique des Espagnes, avec tres-haute et tres-excellente princesse madame Elizabeth, fille aisnée de tres-haut, tres-puissant et tres-magnanime prince Henry second de ce nom, tres-chrestien, roy de France nostre souverain seigneur : et aussi de tres-haut et puissant prince Philibert-Emmanuel, duc de Savoie, avec tres-haute et tres-excellente princesse madame Marguerite de France, duchesse de Berry, sœur unique dudit seigneur roy tres-chrestien nostre souverain seigneur. Lequel considerant que, avec les occasions qui s'offrent et presentent, les armes, maintenant esloignées de toute cruauté et violence, se peuvent et doivent employer avec plaisir et utilité par ceux qui desirent s'esprouver et exercer en tous vertueux et louables faits et actes: Fait à sçavoir à tous princes, seigneurs, gentil-hommes, chevaliers et escuyers suivant le fait des armes, et desirans faire preuve de leurs personnes en icelles, pour inciter les jeunes à vertu et recommander la prolesse des experimentez, qu'en la ville capitale de Paris, le Pas est ouvert par Sa Majesté Tres-Chrestienne et par les princes de Ferrare, Alphonse d'Est, François de Lorraine duc de Guyse, pair et grand chambellan de France, et Jacques de Savoie duc de Nemours, tous chevaliers de l'ordre, pour estre tenu contre tous venans deuëment qualifiez, à commencer au seiziesme jour de juin prochain, et continuant jusques à l'accomplissement et effet des emprises et articles qui s'ensuivent. La 1^{re}, emprise à cheval en lice, en double piece quatre coups de lance et une pour la dame. La 2^e, emprise, à coups d'espée à cheval, un à un, ou deux à deux à la volonté des maistres du camp. La 3^e, emprise, à pied, trois coups de piques et six d'espée, en harnois d'homme de pied. Fourniront lesdits tenans de lances de pareille longueur et grosseur, d'espées et piques, aux choix des assaillans. Et si en courant aucun donne au cheval, il sera mis hors des rances, sans plus y retourner, si le Roy ne l'ordonne. Et à tout ce que dessus seront ordonnez quatre maistres de camp, pour donner ordre à toutes choses. Et celuy des assaillans qui aura le plus rompu, et le mieux fait aura le prix dont la valeur sera à la discretion des juges. Pareillement celui qui aura le mieux combattu à l'espée et à la pique aura aussi le prix à la discretion desdits juges. Seront tenus les assaillans, tant de ce royaume comme estrangers, de venir toucher à l'un des escus qui seront pendus, au perron au bout de la lice, selon les dessusdites emprises, ou toucher à plusieurs d'eux, à leur choix, ou à tous, s'ils veulent: et là trouveront un officier d'armes, qui les recevra pour les enrooller, selon qu'ils voudront, et les escus qu'ils auront touchez. Seront aussi tenus les assaillans d'apporter ou faire apporter par un gentil-homme, audit officier d'armes, leur escu armoié de leurs armoiries, pour iceluy pendre audit perron trois jours durant, avant le commencement dudit tournoy: et en cas que dans ledit temps ils n'apportent ou envoient leurs escus, ils ne seront receus audit tournoy sans le congé des tenans. En signe de vérité nous Henry par la grace de Dieu roy de France, avons signé ce present escrit de nostre main. Fait à Paris le 22 May 1559. Signé, Henry et du Thier."

MOUNTJOYE, *Roi d'armes de France*, in describing the *Pas D'Armes de l'Arc Triomphal*, about which I have been speaking, notes that the fifth enterprise of the Pas was: *que les tenans se trouveroient dans un behourt, autrement dit bastillon, deliberez se defendre contre tous venans avec harnois de guerre*. The *behourt* was a kind of bastion or castle constructed of wood or other material, which the holders undertook to defend against all who should attack it. This military exercise was again an adjunct of the tournament, a term which included all exercises practised by the nobility to fit themselves for the profession of arms, and seems to have been invented to teach them the way to attack and escalade fortified places. SPELMAN is not wide of the mark in his definition of the word *bohorder* or *bordiare*, as *ad palos dimicare*, that is to say, fighting at the palisades of fortified places; this our French writers call colloquially *palester*, *quasi ad palos pugnare*, attacking and defending besieged cities in the lists.

The name of this military exercise is differently written by various authors, sometimes *bohourd*, sometimes *behourd*; the former is the more usual. The *Roman de Garin*, whose author lived under LOUIS-LE-JEUNE, always uses *bohorder*:—

Ses escus prennent, bohorder vont és prés.

*La veissiez le bon chastel garnir,
 Tresches et baus encontre lui venir,
 Et des vallez bohorder plus de mil.*

ALAIN CHARTIER, in the *Débat des deux fortunes d'Amour*:—

Joustes, essais, bouhors et tournoiements.

LAMBERT D'ARDRES: *ut illic bohordica frequentaret et torniamenta.*

Later, the word was abbreviated to *border*. The *Traité des tournois des chevaliers de la Table Ronde* thus runs: *Ainsi bordoient, et brisoient lances jusques à basses vespres, que la retraite estoit sonnée.* Hence the word *burdare*, to be read in a “summons to arms” in the appendices to MATTHEW PARIS, *ad turniandum, et burdandum*. I think that it is from this word that we have the origin of the terms *bourde* and *bourder*, meaning a sham, a lie, *bohourds* were only sham contests. The Statutes of the Order of the *Couronne d'Epines* make use of the word *bourdeur*: *En cetui saint disner soit bien gardé que hiraux et bourdeurs ne facent leur office*, where the *bourdeurs* are those whom historians call *menestrels*.

Many writers, too, use the words *behourd*, *behourder*. The *Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin*:

*Encore vous eaulsist il miex aler esbanoier,
 Et serur les behours, joster et tournoier.*

ROBERT BOURRON, in the *Roman de Merlin*: *Alerent li chevalier behourd desors la vile as chans, si alerent li plus jeune pour voir le behourdeis.* The *Chronique de Flandres*: *Et disoit qu'il voloit aler bohorder.* It is not easy to guess the origin of the word, for I dare not hazard the suggestion that it is derived from the Saxon *bord*, meaning a house or hotel, whence the French have borrowed *borde*, with the same meaning, and that therefore *border*, *bohorder*, would mean to attack a house, as you would attack a castle. Again the derivation may be sought from the German *horde* or *hurde*, meaning a scaffolding, used to make what we call *hourdis* in the erection of a building, because these castles and bastions were only wood and scaffolding. The English word *board* is a table (compare *bord*, old Saxon); whence you could say *bohourd* was the contest of the Round Table, and that this term was introduced by the English.

But to quit these questions of etymology, for the most part uncertain, it is agreed that the word *behourd*, in the authors I have just cited, is generally accepted to mean the contest of the tourney and just. A MS. of JEAN, vidame of Amiens, of 1271 speaks of a day of *bouhourdeis*, called *dies hastiludii* in another MS. of the vidame ENGUERRAN of 1218. These games and contests are thus described in an account of the demesne of the Comté de Bologne of 1402, preserved in the *Chambre des Comptes* in Paris, under the heading *RECEPTE DES BEHOURDICHES*: *C'est asavoir que tous ceus qui vendront poissons à haut estal ou Marquet de Boulogne, doivent ce jour joster, ou faire joster à la Quintaine que monseigneur leur doit trouver;*

et doivent jouter de tilleux pelez, ou de plançons d'armes, et les doit-on monstrier au vicomte, qu'il ne soient cassez de cousteaux, ou autrement. Et ou cas qu'ils ne joustent ou font jouter, ils doivent à ce jour à ladite vicomte 2 sols par. Neant receu pour l'an de ce compte, pour ce qu'ils firent sous courre. And this shows that the people were practised in warlike exercises so as to be able to use arms when called upon to do so by their lords or princes. To a similar custom can be traced the *Jeux de l'Espinette*, so common at Lille in Flanders; they were kinds of tourneys and justs practised by the people, at which the great lords made no difficulty about being present. These games and tournaments were called by the general term *bouhourd* as BUZELIN notes, and he also adds that some trace their origin and institution to St. Louis.

After these exercises which I have mentioned comes the *Quintain*, consisting of a post on the top of which was a dummy, turning on a pivot so that anyone not striking it with his lance in the centre but on the outside made it turn, and as it had in its right hand a baton or a sword and in its left a shield, anyone badly aiming his blow was hit by it. This game seems to have been invented by those who justed with the lance and who had to hit between arms and legs, if they did not want to be called awkward. In the *Histoire de Hierusalem* by ROBERT THE MONK, the *Quintain* is mentioned: *Tentoria variis ornamentorum generibus venustantur, terrae infixis sudibus scuta apponuntur, quibus in crastinum Quintanae ludus scilicet equestris exerceatur.* MATTHEW PARIS: *Juvenes Londinenses, statuto pavone pro bravo, ad stadium, quod vulgariter QUINTENA dicitur, vires proprias et equorum cursus sunt experti.* *La Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin*:—

*Quintaines y fist drecier, et jouter y faisoit,
Et donnoit un beau prix celui qui mieux joustait.*

Another chronicle in MS. of the same DU GUESCLIN: *Fist faire QUINTAINES et joutes d'ensans, et manieres de tournois.* And lastly, the *Roman de la Malemarastre*: *Emmy les prez avoit une assemblée de barons de cette ville, et tant que ils drechoient une QUINTAINE, et qui mieux le faisoit, si avoit grant loange.* The Greeks even knew of this game, which BALSAMON calls *κυντανοκόνταξ*, because the *contus* or lance was used; but I do not think he is happy in his derivation of the name of the game from the inventor's name, *Quintus*. It is probable that it was so called because the people of the towns, to whom the game was familiar, went to play at it in the fields and outskirts of the town, which the Court-rolls and deeds called *quintes* or *quintaines*. ISIDORE, PAPIAS and AELFRIC explain *quintana* as being that part of the street where a cart could turn, *pars plateae, quâ carpentum provehi potest*; and from this it is to be gathered that as the people chose the places where streets crossed as spots to run at the quintain, the name of these *quintaines* or crossways survived.

I have said that the nobility made their subjects run the quintain, imposing a penalty for not doing so, and this is confirmed by the remarks of RAGUENEAU.

The nobility were so enamoured of tournaments that many chose the occasions to get themselves knighted at them, and the more often they attended, the greater grew their reputations for courage and skill. JEAN DUC DE BRABANT, who lost his life in a just in 1294, took part in 70 tournaments, in England, France and Germany, and other distant countries; so that to praise a courageous knight, it was said he had *frequenté les tournois*. Such praise was accorded to ROGER DE MORTIMER, an English knight, on his epitaph at the priory of Wigmore:—

Militiam scivit, semper torneamenta subivit.

Kings, too, made so much of nobles on these occasions, that they decreed that at tournaments they could not be arrested, nor their goods seized for debt. This I learn from an

old deed, containing la vente faite par Jean de Flandres, chevalier sire de Crevecoeur et d'Alleuz, de onze vint sept livres dix-huit sols huit deniers de rente, avec faculté de le pouvoir prendre et arrester, et de tenir luy ses hoirs et successeurs, et leurs biens . . . en tournoy et hors tournoy, en Parlement et hors Parlement, et nommément par tout ou ils seront trouvez, jusques adonc qu'ils auroient fait gré à plain de la rente eschuë, et de la peine, etc. Ladite rente ratifiée par Beatrix de S. Paul sa femme, et confirmée par le Roy, comme sires souverains, au mois de Mars 1316, confirmée par le Roy en May 1317.

I will end this *Dissertation* by citing the *Ordonnance* on tournaments, taken from the old *Cérémonial* in the following words : —

C'est la maniere et l'ordonnance, et comment on souloit faire anciennement les Tournoys.

“ITEM le cry est tel. OR OYEZ, seigneurs chevaliers, que je vous fais asçavoir le grand digne pardon d'armes, et le grand digne tournoyement de par les François, et de par les Vermandoïciens et Beauvoisins, de par les Poitiers (1), et les Corbeïois, de par les Arthisiens et les Flamens, de par les Champenois et les Normans, de par les Angevins, Poitevins et Tourangeaux, de par les Bretons et Manceaux, de par les Rives (2), et Hasbegnons (3), et de par tous autres chevaliers qui accordez s'y sont, et accorderont qui venir y voudront, à estre aus hostieux accompagnez le dimanche après S. Remy ; et les diseurs prins, Percheval de Varennes et Witasse sire de Campregny (4), et conseillers le sire de Meullant et le sire de Hangest ; et pour faire fenestre le lundy, pour tournoier le mardy (5), et de batesist marthe, pource qu'il ne auroit pas ses chevaux ne son harnois, il pourroit faire cesser le tournoy jusques à jedy, qu'il est fin de la sepmaine ; et qui ne le voudroit attendre, et que l'on tournoyast, ce seroit un tournoyement sans accord, et doivent le heraut crier, que l'on boute hors les bannieres, blasons, ou housses d'escu, ou enseignes d'armes, pourquoy ou puisse tournoyer par accord.

ITEM doivent les diseurs aller avec les herauts aux lieux où les seigneurs donnent à manger aux chevaliers, ou aux places où ils pourroient trouver lesdits chevaliers, qu'ils viennent armez pour tournoier, et prendre les fois desdits chevaliers, qui ne porteront espées, armures, ne bastons affustiez, n'enforceront les armes, estaquettes assises par lesdits diseurs, et tiendront le dit desdits diseurs.

ITEM la veille du tournoy doivent faire, s'il leur plaist, les chevaliers mettre les selles sur leurs chevaux, et de leurs escuyers, pincheres et chamfroy de leurs armes, affin qu'on puisse voir et connoistre l'estoffe et l'estat de chascun endroit soy, et ne peut avoir chascun chevalier que deux escuiers, s'il ne veut mentir, tant soit grand sire.

ITEM le jour du tournoy doivent les chevaliers aller aux messes, et faire faire les places à l'espée, et doivent les diseurs aller voir la place où le tournoy doit estre fait sans advantage, et attacher les attaches en chascune route ; és batailles il y doit avoir deus estachettes de part, et l'autre d'autre part ; et là doivent les chevaliers essongniés chevaux et harnois tout asseurez, sans qu'on leur puisse rien meffaire, s'ils ne veulent fiancer leur serment et mentir leur foy.

ITEM doivent les diseurs, à l'heure qu'ils verront qu'il sera temps, soit à jour de tournoier au matin, ou aux vespres, faire crier ‘laisser’ (6) : et lors se doivent toutes manieres de chevaliers et escuiers eux armer, et doivent les herauts assés-tost après crier : ‘Issez hors, seigneurs chevaliers, issez

(1) Picards, those near to Poix.

(2) Ripuarii, inhabitants on the Rhine banks.

(3) Navarrais, Hasbanienses.

(4) Campremy.

(5) Sic in MS.

(6) L'issez.

hors.' Et quand les chevaliers sont hors, et chascun est retrait en sa banniere, et en sa route, ou en la route de son issuë, les diseurs viennent pardevant les batailles, et font passer ceux qui ont ordonné pour passer, pour faire le tournoy à compte de chascun chevalier, toutefois au dit des seigneurs sous qui ils sont.

ITEM ce fait, les deux diseurs se doivent mettre en place devant les batailles, et se doivent quitter la foy l'un à l'autre; et lors est le tournoy par accord; et se mettront les pays chascun au droit de son issuë; et doivent les heraux porter les bannieres, et des communes de chascun pays, selon ce que ils ont accoustumé, et au cas qu'ils ne voudroient quitter leur foy l'un à l'autre, le tournoy seroit sans accord.

ITEM si-tost que le roy des heraux et les autres heraux verront que le tournoy aura assés duré, et qu'il sera sur le tard et temps de partir, ils doivent faire lever les estaches, et crier, 'seigneurs chevaliers, allez-vous en, vous ne pouvez huymets ne perdre, ne gagner, car les estachettes sont levées.'

ITEM quand les chevaliers seront revenus à leurs hostels, ils se désarmeront et laveront leurs visages, et viendront manger devers les seigneurs, qui donnent à manger; et tandis que les chevaliers seront assis au soupper, seront prins lesdits diseurs, avec le roy desdits heraux, accompagnez de deux chevaliers, tels comme ils voudront prendre, pour faire l'enquete des bienfaisans: et en l'enquete faisant, les chevaliers qui parleront diront leur avis, ils en nommeront trois ou quatre, ou tant qu'il leur plaira des bienfaisans, et au derrain ils se rapporteront à un, lequel ils nommeront, et celui emportera la voix, et ainsi ce fait de main en main à tous les chevaliers, et prennent morceaux de pain, et celui qui plus en a, c'est celluy qui passe route: et ceux qui font l'enquete font serment qu'ils la feront bien et loyaument.

ITEM et ou cas que le tournoy se feroit sans accord, la partie qui seroit déconfite, celui qui demourroit derrenier à cheval d'icelle partie desconfite auroit le heaume, comme le mieux descendant; et l'autre partie, celui qui seroit le mieux assaillant auroit l'espée.

ITEM le lendemain du tournoy, s'il y a aucun destord de droit d'armes, tant de ceulx gagnez ou pardus, comme des chevaliers tirez à terre, depuis les estaches levées, et comme de tous autres droits, soient d'ostel prins, d'ostel armeures, ou autres choses quelconques, il en est à l'ordonnance et juges des chevaliers.

ITEM on doit parler aux eschevins, aux majeurs et gouverneurs des bonnes villes où le tournoy se doit faire, d'avoir prix raisonnable de ce qui est nécessaire; c'est à scavoir de foing, avoïne, nappes, touïlles, et de toute autre vaisselle és hostieux, chascun endroit soy, là où il sera logié; ou faire prix sur les hostelaiges, lits et vaisseaux, et au cheval foing et avoïne dehors; et est dit que se aucun chevalier n'a dequoy payer son hostelaige, qu'il fasse courtoisement fin et accord.

S'ENSUIT la déclaration des Harnois qui appartiennent pour armer un chevalier et un escuier.

Premierement un harnois de jambes couvert de cuir cousu à esguillettes au long de la jambe, jusques au genouïl, et deux attaches larges pour attacher à son barrurier (1) et soulerez valuz attachéz aux grüës.

ITEM cuissés et poulains de cuir, armoiez de Varennes des armes au chevalier.

ITEM une chausse de mailles pardessus le harnois de jambes, attachée au brayer, comme dit est, par dessus les cuisses, et uns esperons dorez, qui sont attachéz à une cordelette autour de la jambe, affin que la molette ne tourne dessous le pied.

ITEM uns anciens et unes espaulieres.

ITEM paus et manchez, qui sont attachéz à la cuirie, et la cuirie à tous ses esgrappes sur les espauls, et une seurseliere sur le pis (2) davant.

(1) Brayer.

(2) Pectus.

ITEM bracheres à tout les houson, et le han escuçon de la banniere sur le col couvert de cuir, avec les tonnerres pour les attacher au brayer, à la cuirie; et sur le bacinet une coiffe de mailles et un bel orfroy par devant au front, qui veult.

ITEM bracetlets attachez aux espauls à la cuirie.

ITEM un gaignepain pour mettre és main du chevalier.

ITEM un heaume, et le tymbre, tel comme il voudra.

ITEM deux chaisnes à attachier à la poitrine de la cuirie, une pour l'espée, et l'autre pour le baston en deux vigeres (1) pour le heaume attacher.

ITEM le harnois de l'escuier sera tout pareil, escepté qu'il ne doit avoir nulles chaues de mailles, ne coiffette de mailles sur le bacinet, mais doit avoir un chapeau de Montauban, et si ne doit avoir nulles bracheres, et des autres choses se peut armer comme un chevalier, et ne doit point avoir de sautoir à sa selle.

(1) viseres.





Appendix III.

The Statutes of Arms.⁽¹⁾

“ At the Request of the Earls and Barons and of the Chivalry of England, It is Ordained and by our Lord the King commanded, That from henceforth none be so hardy, whether Earl, Baron, or other Knight, who shall go to the Tournament,⁽²⁾ to have more than three Esquires in Arms to serve him at the Tournament; and that every Esquire do bear a Cap of the Arms⁽³⁾ of his Lord, whom he shall serve that day, for Ensign. And no Knight or Esquire serving at the Tournament, shall bear a Sword pointed, or Dagger pointed, or Staff or Mace,⁽⁴⁾ but only a broad Sword⁽⁵⁾ for turneying. And all that bear Banners⁽⁶⁾ shall be armed with Mufflers⁽⁷⁾ and

(1) *Statuta Armorum*. The Norman-French text printed in the *Statutes of the Realm* (Ed. 1810) is taken from MS. Rawlinson, No. 277 Book.

(2) N.F., in MS. *Torney*.

(3) *Ibid.*, *Chapel des armes*.

(4) *Ibid.*, *Espee à point, ne cotel à point, ne bastoun ne mace*.

(5) *Ibid.*, *Espee large pur turneer*.

(6) *Ibid.*, *Baneors*.

(7) *Ibid.*, *Mustilers*. MEYRICK, *Antient Armourer*, in his glossary defines the word as meaning a kind of a bastard-armour for the body, probably composed of a quantity of wool just sheared from the sheep.

“ Cuishes, (8) and Shoulder-plates (9) and a Scull-cap (10), with-
 “ out more.

“ And if it happen that any Earl, or Baron, or other Knight,
 “ do go against this Statute, that such Knight, by Assent of all the
 “ Baronage, shall lose his Horse and Harness, and abide in prison
 “ at the pleasure of our Lord Sir Edward the King’s Son, and
 “ Sir Edmund his Brother, and the Earl of Gloucester, and the
 “ Earl of Lincoln (11), And the Esquire who shall be found of-
 “ fending against the Statute here devised, in any point, shall
 “ lose his Horse and Harness, and be imprisoned three Years.
 “ And if any Man shall cast a Knight to the Ground, except
 “ they who are armed for their Lord’s Service, that Knight
 “ shall have his Horse, and the Offender shall be punished as the
 “ Esquires aforesaid.

“ And no son of a great Lord, that is to say, of an Earl or
 “ Baron, shall have other Armour than Mufflers and Cuishes,
 “ and Shoulder-plates, and a Scull-cap; without more; and shall
 “ not wear a Dagger or Sword pointed, nor Mace, but only a
 “ broad Sword. And if any be found who, in either of these
 “ points, shall offend against the Statute, he shall lose his horse
 “ whereon he is mounted that Day, and be imprisoned for one
 “ Year.

(8) *Ibid.*, *Quisers*.

(9) *Ibid.*, *Espaulers*.

(10) *Ibid.*, *Bacyn* (*Bacynette*).

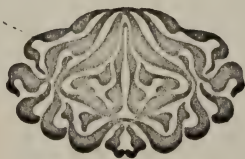
(11) In the Norman-French MS. (*ante*, p. xxiii, n. 1), occur the names SIR WILLEME DE VALENCE and SIR GILBT DE CLARE, the former of whom died in 1296. There was an EARL OF GLOUCESTER, who died 1295, having married JOAN, daur. of ED. I.; EDMUND, EARL OF LANCASTER, son of HEN. III., died 1296. EDWARD, son of EDWARD I., was born 1284.

“ And they who shall come to see the Tournament, shall
“ not be armed with any Manner of Armour, and shall bear no
“ Sword, or Dagger, or Staff, or Mace, or Stone, upon such
“ Forfeiture as in the case of Esquires aforesaid. And no Groom
“ or Footman shall bear Sword, or Dagger, or Staff, or Stone;
“ and if they be found offending, they shall be imprisoned for
“ Seven Years.

“ And if any great Lord or other Keep a Table(12) none
“ shall bring thither any Esquire but those who are wont to
“ Mess(13) in their Lord's presence. And no King at Arms or
“ Minstrels shall bear secret Arms, nor any other besides their
“ Swords without Points. And the King at Arms shall have
“ their Mantles without more, etc.”

(12) N.F., in M.S. *Teygne mangerie*.

(13) *Ibid.*, *Trencherunt*.





Appendix IV.

THE ORDINANCES, STATUTES & RULES, MADE BY JOHN, LORD TIPTOFTE, ERLE OF WORCESTER, CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND, BY THE KING'S COMMAUNDEMENT, AT WINDSORE, 29 DAY OF MAY, ANNO SEXTO EDWARDI QUARTI; AND COMMANDED TO BEE OBSERVED OR KEPT IN ALL MANNER OF JUSTES OF PEACES ROYALL, WITHIN THIS REALME OF ENGLAND. RESERVINGE ALWAIES TO THE QUEENE, AND TO THE LADYES PRESENT, THE ATTRIBUTION AND GIFTE OF THE PRIZE, AFTER THE MANNER AND FORME ACCUSTOMED: TO BE ATTRIBUTED FOR THEIR DEMERITTS ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLES ENSUEINGE.

How many waies the prize is woone.

1. *First*, Who so breaketh most speares as they ought to bee broken, shall have the prize.
2. *Item*, Who so hitteth three times, in the sight of the hearme, shall have the prize.
3. *Item*, Who so meeteth too times, cournall to cournall, shall have the prize.

4. *Item*, Who so beareth a man downe with stroke of a speare, shall have the prize.

How many waies the prize shall be lost.

1. *First*, Who so striketh a horse shall have no prize.
2. *Item*, Who so striketh a man, his back turned, or disgar-nished of his speare, shall have no prize.
3. *Item*, Who so hitteth the foile (or tilt) three times shall have no prize.
4. *Item*, Who so unhealmeth himselfe two times shall have no prize, unlesse his horse doe faile him.

How broken speares shall be allowed.

1. *First*, Who so breaketh a speare, between the saddle and the charnell of the hearme, shall be allowed for one.
2. *Item*, Who so breaketh a speare, from the counnall upwards, shall be allowed for two.
3. *Item*, Who so breaketh a speare, so as hee strike his adver-sary downe, or put him out of his saddle, or disarmeth him in such wise as hee may not runne the next course after, or breaketh his speare counnall to counnall, shall be allowed three speares.

How speares shall be disallowed.

1. *First*, Who so breaketh on the saddle shall be disallowed for one speare-breakinge.
2. *Item*, Who so hitteth the toyle once, shall be disallowed for two.
3. *Item*, Who so hitteth the toyle twice, shall, for the second time, be abated three.

4. *Item*, Who so breaketh a speare, within a foot to the cour-nall, shall be adjudged as no speare broken, but a fayre attaynt.

For the prize to be given, and who shall be preferred.

1. *First*, Who so beareth a man downe out of the saddle, or putteth him to the earth, horse and man, shall have the prize before him that striketh counall to counall two times.
2. *Item*, Hee that striketh counall to counall two times, shall have the prize before him that striketh the sight three times.
3. *Item*, Hee that striketh the sight three times, shall have the prize before him that breaketh most speares.

Item, if there be any man that fortuneth in this wise, which shall be deemed to have abiden longest in the field hearmed, and to have runne the fayrest course, and to have given the greatest strokes, and to have holpen himself best with his speare, he shall have the prize.

(subscribed)

JOHN WORCESTRE

At Tournay

Two blowes at the passage and tenne at the joyninge, more or lesse as they make it. All gripes, shockes, and foule play forbidden.

How prizes at Tournay, and Barriers, are to be lost.

He that giveth a stroke with a pike from the girdle down-ward or under the barrier, shall winne no prize.

He that shall have a close gauntlett, or any thinge to fasten his sworde to his hand, shall have no prize.

He whose sword falleth out of his hande, shall winne no prize.

He that stayeth his hand in fight on the barriers, shall winne no prize.

He whosoever shall fight, and doth not shewe his sworde to the Judges before, shall winne no prize.

Yet it is to be understood, that all chalengers may winne all these prizes against the defendantes.

The maintainers may take aide or assistance of the noble men, of suche as they shall like best.





Appendix V.

Extracts from the Lansdowne MS. No. 285.

LIBER RI. ST. GEORGE, CLARENCIEUX
REGIS ARMOR CITRA TRENTAM
EQUITIS AURATI 1630.

Lansdowne
MS. 285
(fo. 1).

Endorsement
as to owner-
ship of MS.

SIR GILBERT
WILLM DETHICK, Garter.

(*Note.* In the catalogue the MS. is thus described: "A volume, the greatest part of which formerly belonged to Sir John Paston, Kt., in the reign of Ed. IV., and was copied for him by one William Ebesham, a scribe by profession. In Sir John Fenn's *Original Letters*, Vol. II, it is alluded to as being copied from *the Grete Booke*, once in the possession of Sir Gilbert Dethick, *supra*, then of his son Sir William, who was Garter, and afterwards of Richard St. George, Clarenceux).

Before the MS. passed into the possession of Sir G. Dethick, it belonged in the reign of Henry VIII to Sir Thomas Wriothesley (*vide Bentley, Excerpta Historica*, p. 175).

45. *An Index and note on the fees of beralds* (fo. 56b).

Coronacions of Kynges & quenes of England	fol. j. &c
Coronacion of Kyng Henry the vj ^{the}	fol. vj th
The makynge of Knyghtes of the bathe	fol. vij th
How a man shalbe armed to arme a man and abillementes of Justis of peas .	fol. viij th
The Crye of Justis	fol. ix th
The ordinance of fyghtyng w th in listes	fol. xj th
Chalenge of armes of Phylipp Boyle Knyght	fol. xiiij th
Chalenge of armes of Perys de Masse	fol. xiiij th
Chalenge of thauncestor of therll of Warwyk	fol. xv th
Chalenge of armes b ^t wene the lorde Scalys & the Bastard of Bourgoigne w th certain lettres & articles	fol. xviij th
Chalenge of Lowys de Brutaillys	fol. xxj th

Chalenge of Philipp de Bouton	
Chalenge of a Knyght named Larbredor	fol. xxv ^o
The articles & lettres of s ^r Anthoni Wodeville lord Scales	fol. xxix ^o
The entre & apparell of the lord Scales & of the Bastarde of Bourgoigne when they entred y ^e feld	fol. xxxix ^o
An olde statute for armes of turnay after thordinance of Englonde	fol. xlij ^o
Chalenge of Guillamme de Boueset of almaine as towchyng a certain Empruise	fol. xlij ^o
A Crye of turnay betwene the sire Jounelle & the sire of Commynes	fol. xliij ^o
The Crye of Joustes of K. R. the ij ^{de}	fol. xlv ^o
The ryght belongynge to thofficers of armes, In tyme of Warre conformed by Thomas of Lancastre duc of Clarence constable &c	fol. xlvj ^o
The Chalenge of Chalons	fol. xlvij ^o
The Chalenge of iij Knyghtes of Bourgoigne & theretwixt mon ^s r le Bastard de Bourgoigne mon ^s r Philipp Creueucueur, mon ^s r Pierre Vasq' de Faymedray	fol. lj ^o
The Chalenge of vj gentlemen at the Creacion of Richard duc of York son of Kynge Edward the iij ^{the} (1)	
The Chalenge of therll of Ryueres	
<p>At wyche joustes there were certain gentylmen which shewyd the Kynge that the fees to hys servantes was soo great that yf they shuld entre the feeld to hys honnour & to thonnour of hys Realme the charge wold bee to moche for theym to bare, & besoughte the Kynge that they myghte be at sume resonable fyne, where apon for that tyme y^t was ordened by the juges and composicion made in man^r ffollowynge, that is to saye, and Erll shuld paye for that tyme of hys entre to thoffyce of armes x. markes, a baron iij li, a Knyght xls., a Esquier xxvs. viij d., of which composicion thofficers of armes were but soo contented ; & where as the noble lord Therll of Ryvers was taxed by the judge at x. marks, ye he sent of hys benevolens to thofficers of armes xx. marks lyke a noble man & desyred theym soo to be contented for hym and hys hermytage, to whom god sende good lyff and longe amen ; and the trumpettes had for their dewte halff of the sume appointed for heraulds accordynge to ev^y estate and degree as before hys Reherced.</p>	
The passe & armes of Mons ^r . Philipp ^e de la laing vigecins in Englishe de re militare.	
The treatys of saylinge be the see	cxxxvij.
The ordonances of warre of King Henry ye V ^{the}	cxliij.
Ordonauces of warre of Therll of Salesbury and of P ^{che} ; copie of a lettre sent by Therll of Salisbery to the Inhabitantz of Maunte.	
The boke of gouernance of Kinges and Princes.	
The armes of the lorde Anthony Erll of Riueres.	In lib frett fol. viij. xj. xiiij.

(1) Justs held on 29 May, 1474, at the creation of the second son of Edward, as Duke of York. Among the challengers were Thomas Dorset, Richard Graye, Sir Edward Wydevill, J. Tyrrell, W. Ferris, J. Cheney. These names appear in a copy of the Challenge, *Harl. MS.* 69, fo. 1.

1. "*The maner & forme of the Kyngis & Quenes coronacion in Englonde*" (fo. 2).⁽¹⁾
2. *A Ballad describing the coronation of Hen. VI.* (fo. 5b).
3. "*How Knightis of the Bath shulde be made*" (fo. 7b).
4. "*Hou a Man shalbe armede at his ease whan he shall fight on foote*" (fo. 9).

He shall have noon sherte vpon hymn but a doublet of ffustian lynid with Satin kut full of holis ; the doublet must be streightly bounde there y^e poynts must be sett aboute the grete of the arme and the vest before and behynde and the gusset of mail must be sowid vnto the doublet into the bought of the arme and vnd^r the Arme ; the armyng poynts must be made of syne twyne such as men make streenge for Crosbowis and they must be trussid smal & poynted as poynts, also they must be waxid w^t Cordeners wax & then they will neith^r reeche ne breke ; also a peir hosen of Stamyn single and a peir short bulwerks of thyn blanket to put aboute his knees for chawfying of his legs harneis ; also a peire of Shone of thyk Cordewayne and they must be fret w^t small whipcorde iij knotts vpon a corde and iij cordis must be faste sowid vnto there of the shoo & fyve cordis in the myddill of the sole of the same shoo and th^t there bee betwene the frettis of the hele & the frettis of the myddill of the shoo the space of iij fyngers.⁽²⁾

TO ARME A MAN.

FIRST ye muste set on Sabatynes & tye them vpon the shoo w^t small poynts that will not breke, and than *Griffus* and than *Quysshews* & than the *breche* of maile & than *towlettis* than the *breste* than the *Gambrace*, than the *Rerebrace*, than his *Gloovis*, and than hang his *dagger* vpon his Right side, than his short *swerde* on his lift side in a *Rounde Ryng*, all nakid to pull it oute lightly, than put his *Cote* vpon his bak, and than his *basenet* pyuned vpon too grete staples before the *breste* with a double bocle behynde vpon the bak for to make the *basenet* sit iuste. And than his long *swerde* in his hande, than his *pensell* in his honde paynted of seynt George or of oure lady to blisse him with as he goth towardis the felde and in the felde.⁽²⁾

5. "*The Day that the Appellaunt and the Defendaunt shall Fight, what they shall haue with them into the feelde*" (fo. 9b).⁽³⁾
6. "*Abilmentis for the Justus of Pees.*" (fo. 9b).⁽⁴⁾

Ffirst an helme wele stuffid, with a Creste of his devise.

A peire of plates and thritty gyders.

An haustement for the body with sleevis.

A botton with a tresse in the plates.

(1) The folio numbers are taken from the Catalogue of 1812 in the British Museum, and sometimes differ from those of the Index in folio 56b (*ante*, p. xxxi)

(2) Printed in *Archaeologia*, XVII, p. 295.

(3) *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 296.

(4) *Ibid.*, XVII, 292.

A Shelde Coovirde with his devise.
 A Rerebrake with a roule of lethir wele stuffid.
 A maynefere with a Ryngge.
 A Rerebrace. A moton.
 A Vambrace and a gayn payne and two brickettes.
 And two dosen tress^a and vj vamplates.
 And xij Grapers and xij Cornallys & xl Sperys.
 And an Armerer with hamour and pynsons
 And Nails with a Bickorne.
 A good Courser and newe shodd with a softe bitte.
 And a grete halter for the Rayne of the bridell.
 A Sadill wele stuffid, and a peire of Jambus.
 And iij double Girthis with double Bocles.
 And a double Singull with doubul bokuls.
 And a Rayne of lethir hungry tied fro the hors hede unto the girthis leeneth betwene the
 ferthir bouse of the hors for Renasshyng.
 A Rynnyng Patrell. A Croper of lethir hungrye.
 A Trapper for the Courser and two s^untez on horse bak wele besene.
 And vj s^untes on foote all in oon Sute.

7. "To cry a Justes of Peas" (fo. 10).⁽¹⁾

Wee herawldes of Armes beryng Sheeldes of devise here we yeve in knowlege vnto all gentilmen of name and of Armys. That there bee vj Gentilmen of name and of Armes, that for the grete desire and woorship that the seide vj Gentilmen haue taken vpon them to bee the Third day of May, next coomyng, before the high and myghty redowtid ladyes and Gentilwomen in this high & moost honourable Court. And in their^r p^resence the seid Sixe Gentlemen there to appeer at ix of the Clok before noone. And to juste ayenst all coomers withoute the seide day, vnto vj of the Clok at aftir noone. And then by the aduyse of the seide ladyes and Gentilwomen to yeve vnto the best Juster withoute a Dyamaunde of xl li.

And vnto the next beste Juster, a Rubie of xx li, and to thrid wele Juster, a Saufir^r of x li.

And on the seide day there beeyng officers of Armys, shewyng their mesure of theire Speris garneste. That is Cornall Vamplate & Grap's all of acise y^e they shall just with. And that the comers may take the length of the seide speris with the avise of the seide officers of Armes that shall be indifferent vnto all p^rties vnto the seide day.

THE COMMYNGE INTO THE FELDE. (1).

The vj Gentilmen must come into the felde vnhermyd and their^r helmys borne before them and their s^unts on horsbak, beryng aithir^r of them a spere garneste, that is y^e seide vj speris, which the seid vj s^unts shall ride before them into the felde, and as the seide vj Gentilmen be coomyn before the ladyes & Gentilwomen. Than shall be sent an herowde of armys vp vnto the ladyes and gentilwomen seying in this wise. High and myghty redoutyd and Right worchipsfull ladyes and Gentilwomen^s. Theis vj Gentilmen ben come into your^r p^resence and Recomaunde them all vnto yo^r gode grace in as lowly wise as

(1) *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 293.

they can besechyng you for to geve vnto iij best Justers w^toute a diamounde and a Rubie and a Saufir vnto them that ye thenk best can des^tue it. Then this message is doon. Then ye vj Gentilmen goth in to the tellws and doth on their^r helmys. And when the herawldis krye A lostell, A lostell, then shall all the vj Gentilmen within vnhelme them before the seide ladyes, and make their^r obeisaunce and goo home vnto there loggyngs and Chaunge them

NOWE BE COOMYN THE GENTILWOOMEN WITHOUTE INTO THE PRESENCE OF THE
LADIES (1.)

Then comys foorth a lady by the avise of all the ladyes & Gentilwoman^e & yevis the diamounde vnto the best juster withoute. Saying on this wise. Sir theis ladyes & Gentilwomen thank you for your^r disporte and grete labour^r th^t ye haue this day in their^r p^resence. And the saide ladyes & gentilwomen seyen that ye haue best just this day. Therefor the seide ladyes and Gentilwomen geveyn you this diamounde and sende you much worshup and joy of your^r lady. Thus shall be doon with the Rubie and with the saufre vnto the othir two next the best Justers. This doon than shall the herauide of armys stonde vp all an high. And shall sey w^t all an high voice. John hath wele justid, Ric^d hath justid bettir and Thomas hath justid best of all.

Than shall hee that the diamount is geve vnto take a lady by the hande and begynne the daunce. And whan the ladyes have dauncid as long as them liketh than spice wyne and drynk and than avoide.

8. "*The ordenaunce and forme of fighting within lists*," as settled by Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, Constable of England, temp. Ric. II. (fo. 11).⁽²⁾
9. "*Challenges of deedis of armys of Philipp Boyle, Kt.*," accepted by John de Astley, Esquire, anno. 1441 (fo. 15).
10. "*The Challenge of Piers de Masse*" (fo. 15b).

In the Woorship and in the name of God oure blissid lady Virgyn mary and my lorde Seint Deynys myne avouer and condider. I Piers de Masse Squyer of the Reame of ffrance borne de quater Cotes of my armes with oute any reproch hath required in the towne of Pounteis John Asteley Squyer, borne within the Reame of Englonde de quater Cotes of his Armes, withoute any reproche for to doo Armes on horsbak half at my Request and half at his request. And that we tweyne be appoyntid for to do and accompie the seide armes on horse bak^e before le treshaulte & tres excellent & tres puissaunt prynce le Roy de ffrance my sou^raigne lorde of the which he of his gode grace hath appoyntid that he hymself will be oure iuge the same daye of theise Articles here suyng.

The first Article is that we tweyne shalbe armyd vpon horsbak in harneis double withoute any shelde and reste of avauntage and eithir of vs to bee armyd as vs semyth best for to breke eithir^r of vs tweyne, vj speres that is xij speris in the hole and all of oon length. And of such gretnesse as eyther of vs may bere at oure pleasure.

(1) *Ibid*, p. 294.

(2) Printed in *Archaeologia*, LVII, Pt. 1, p. 61.

The seconde Article is that I Piers de Massy shall lete make the seide xij all of oon length. And y the saide piers will that ye haue the chose of the saide xij speres.

The third article is that I the saide piers de Masse shall make that fiede and the Telle in the myddis for to kepe oure horses God saue & kepe them fro harme.

The fourth article is that which of vs tweyne that god of his high grace will that haue the bettir shall haue of the toothir his helme or othir abillement which he berith vpon his hede for to bere vpon his lady.

Theis be the ARMES that JOHN ASTLEY Squyer did accomplye within the towne of parys in Seint Anton^s streit. And smote the seide Piers de Masse thorough the hede with a spere in the yere of oure lorde M^cccccxxviii^o before kyng Charles of ffrance was doon the xxixth day of August, the xvj yere of the reigne of Kyng Henry the vjth.

11. "*The Challenge of an Auncestre of therle of Warrewik.*"
(fo. 16.)

FIRST the seide lorde departid oute of Caleis to Guynes by watir^r thee twisday afir Christmas day for to take the eire and disporte of the Countrey as he saide. And all his Armure and his harneis for his Armes, was pryvily caried thidir. And nerchande a foortnyght before Cristmasse my lorde lete set vp a pavilon within the parclos of Guynesse and lete hange therein thre tables of the devisez depeyntid. The first a lady standyng^o and harpyng^o at a beddis feete with a Gratoure of golde for a Spere tacchid on hir Sleve, and sent an haraude into ffrance, that what knyght that was borne Gentilman of name and armes withoute Reproche within the Reame of ffrance that wolde touche that devise, there shulde a knyght that clepith hym Le Chivaler vert oue le quarter noir^r, that was borne in Englonde Gentilman of name and Armes withoute Reproche, shuld delyuir^r that frenshe Knyght of xij Cours hit on horsbak with Speres of oon length and Sheeldis of oon makyng of the which Sheeldis the frenshe Knyght shulde choose the bettir, and here vpon my lorde sent his l^res ensealde with his armes that he berith of Silvir with the maunchet of Goules as they bee enbrowdid in th^e seide lord^s white bedde of berys. Secondly he let hong vp in the same pavylone a noothir table of his devise portreied, with a lady wirchyng perles with a Glove of plate of Gold tacchid on hir sleve, and sent by the same heraude into the Reame of ffrance, that what Knight that was borne Gentilman of name and armes withoute Reproche of the Reame of ffrance that wolde touche that devise, he shulde synde a Knyght of Englonde borne Gentilman of name of armes withoute reproch, the which clepith hym le Chiualeer gryse, that shulde delyuer the frenshe Knight of xv strokys with a swerde hitte, for the which armes the English Knyght shulde ordeygne twey Sadles, and send the frenshe Knyght th^e choise of both. And here vpon sent my lorde his l^res sealde with his Armes of Siluyr with twey barris of Goules as they ben also wele embrowdid in the same white bedde of berys. The thridde my seide lorde lete hong vp in the same pavylone another table of his devise with a lady depeynted in a Gardyne makyng^o a Chaplet of Roses, with a poleyne of golde in the same pavylone tacchid on the seide lady Sleve, and sent by the same heraude that what Knyght of the Reame of fraunce that was borne Gentilman of name and armes withoute Reproche that wolde touche the thrid devise, he shulde synde a Knyght of Englonde Gentilman borne of name and of armes withoute Reproche that clepeth hym Le Chivaler attendaunt, that shulde delyu^r that frenshe Knight of x Cours hit with speres of oon length in hosteyng harneis withoute Shieldis. And herevpon my lorde sent his l^res sealde with his Armes quarterly golde & goules bordn redd with siluyr

and azure verrid as they ben wele enbrowdid in the same bedde of Berys. So whan this heraude was thus delyuerd theise thre l'rez of my lordis ensealde with dyuers sealx of his armys, and wret on of dyu's handys, he Rode into fraunce and declarid his messages amonge all the lordis Knyghtis & Squyers of honoure that were that tyme come downe into the marchis of Pycardye for the werre, and vpon the shewing of theise l'res wrote three knyghtes ageyne by l'res ensealid with sealx of their Armes for to touche the thre devisez for the fulfilling of the poyntes comprehendid in the l'res which the heraude brought, weenyng the frenshemen that it were three Knyghtes of Englonde that had hongid vp thee thre devises. The first frenshe knyght clepid hym in his l're Le Chiualer Rouge, to whom the Right name is S^r Gerarde Herbaumes. A seemely mann and oon of the best Joustes of fraunce accountid And is oon of the xv frenshemen that have now late Chalengid xv Englishmen to the outraunce they beryng^e a plate of goolde for their devise till their armes be doon. And this day of armys with my seide lorde set vpon the xijth day of Cristmasse last, vpon the which day my lorde came into the felde at xij at thee klok, the fairest armydman and the Surest that evir was seen before that tyme, with basyned on his hede and visoure downe, for he wolde nat be knowe, with an vncouthly freshe Chaplet, wrought of dyvers Colours of ffethirs & perles vpon his basynet. A fyne girdill of golde large about the nethir bordure of his plates, and his spere xv Inches large aboute, which was right grete woond^r to all the frenshemen that evir man might welde so grete tymbre. And than my lorde sent the twoo Sheldis to his felowe to cheese as the purport of his l're wolde, which sheeldes were of lethir nat als thyk as the thynkes of vj papir leues. And so my seide lorde and the frenshe knyght ran^e to gidder^r with his speeris woondir knyghtly. And brake their speris, and eithir parcid othir harneys, but thonkid be god at the thrid Cours my lorde smote downe the frenshe knyght at the spere poynt hors and man. And so whan the Armes of that day was doon^e my lorde sent to the frenshe knyght a feire Coureser to his tent. Vpon the morowe my lorde came into the felde to Accomplisshe the seconde armes with sworde astir^r the entent of his l're armyd in the godelyest wise, as seiden all the straungers, that evir was seen, with a frenshe Creste of Ostrige ffethiers of golde coompacid with a white Chaplet aboue his basynet. And ronnen to gidirs an horsebake. So that my lord smote the knyght that clepid hym in his l're le Cheualer blank, to whom the Right name is mons^r Hugh de Lawney, that he Recoild hym to his hors behynde. And an oothir stroke smote vp his visoure. And evir thankid be god had much thebettir by all menes iuggement. And so to his high woorschip fulfillid the poyntes of his armes, and evir his vmbrere downe for he wolde not be knownen in the felde. And at his departing oute of the felde my lorde sent his felowe a feire Coureser. And vpon Soonday astir my lorde came into the felde aboute ix of the klok, Armyd bright with a Rounde brode tofte of Ostrich ffethirs spreynete with golde. And a long tartaryn fethir in the myddis with a brode Girdill of Goldsmythis werke rounde aboute his plates beneth to p'fo^rme his armes in hosteyeng harneis as his l're contenyth. A Courser trappid with his Armes of warr embrowded to fore hym on the which Rode oon Botiller. And behynde hym came three Coursers trappid in thee armys of his armys, accordaunt to the sealx of his thre armes to foresaide. And the same trappers folowid hym eche day of the three dayes oonly to the touchyng of the devise. So that these armes were wele and woorschupfully accomplishid to the gettist woorschup of my lorde both of the frenshemen and also of all the Soulcours of these marche, that evir had man in Pykardye, blesid be god of his grace. And sent his felowe a noother Courser, which knyght is callid le Chiualer noir, to whom the Right name is mess^r Colarde de ffyennes, the which is my lordis Cousyn. And by that that

theis Armys were this doon, my lorde, sitting on horsbak in the felde armed, praide all the frenshe men to dyne with hym there Right in the felde. In the which felde was ordeyned an halle muche and large in the which was hangid the white bedde with all theise Armes that the frenshemen myght wele see that the were verely his armys of olde auncestrie. And there the frenshe men hadd a grete feest of thre Courses, CC. messes large, and a thousande mo p'sones that yeety in the felde had mete I nowgh & drynk also right largely. So whan the spices and wyne was droonke, my lorde yave s^r Gerarde de Herbaumes, the first frenshe Knight an Owche bettir than lx li. To s^r Hugh Delawney an Owche, woorth xl m^{rc}. And to Sir Colarde de flyennes, which is Cousin to the Erle Seintpoule and to my lorde also, a Cupp of Golde, woorth lx m^{rc}. And this doon they departid. And the frenshemen held them passyngly wele apaide. And large yistes gevyn to the frenshe heraudis and mynsterells. And all this feste tyme lastyng, the fairest wethir that evir sigh Cristen man. So that all maner men in this marche, thonkid be god, gevyn to my seide lorde the pryce of all men that evire came there and seyne playnely that God had shewyd passyng grete myracle in hym. And thus on the Monday aftir he is coomen to Caley's w^t much woorship where hath met hym the lieuten^{ant} of the Towne with all the Garnyson.

12. "This is the writyng & articles sent by Lord Scales (Anthony Woodville) unto the Bastarde of Burgoyne," anno 1465 (fo. 18). Printed in Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 176. See also *Harl. MS. No.* 4632, f. 88, for the text of the Challenge in French. See also *Arundel MS.* in the Herald's Coll., No. L. 5, ff. 87, 91, 102, and *Harl. MS.* 48, fo. 343, Art. 90.
13. "The Copy of the certificacion made by the Erle of Worcestre, High Conestable of Englonde," of the delivery of the "floure of souvenance" sent by Lord Scales to the Bastard of Burgundy, Ap. 21, 1465 (fo. 21). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 189.
14. "These ben the names of the Lordes, Knyghtes, and Squyers, Gentilmen & Herauldes, that were present whan the said floure of souvenance was touched by the Bastard of Burgundy" (fo. 21b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 194.
15. "Here folowith the copy of the lettre sent by the Bastard of Burgoyne answeyng the seide articles & writynges" (fo. 22). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 194.

16. "*Le challenge Loys de Brutallis*," of June, 1466 (fo. 23).
Louis de Brutallisor Bretelles was a Gascon Knight at the court of Ed. IV. The challenge is extravagant in language. It is addressed to Messire Jehan de Chassa, a Knight in the service of the Bastard of Burgundy. Printed in Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 216, 217.
17. "*Le repons de Sir Jehan de Chassa*," etc., 1446. Printed *Ibid.*, p. 218 (fo. 24).
18. "*Le challange Phillip de Bouton*," 1467. He came over with the Bastard of Burgundy. He fought at Smithfield a combat with Sir Thomas de la Lande, a Gascon in the service of Ed. IV. The combat is mentioned in the *Memoires de Messire O. de la Marche*. Printed *Ibid.*, p. 220.
19. "*Commencement de la declaracion du Pas a l'arbre dor*," 1468 (fo. 26). The full description of this Pas is related in the *Memoires de Messire O. de la Marche*. See also Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 227, printing the MS. Cott. Nero, c. ix.
20. "*The acts of the full honorable and Knightly armes doon betwene the right noble Lords Sir Anthony Woodville, Lorde Scales, and of Newselles, brother to the Most High, etc. Queene of Englonde . . . and Sir Anton., the Basterde of Bourgogne, Erle of Roche and Lord of Bener and Beneresse*," etc. (fo. 29b).
21. "*The retorne of the Chestre Herauld with themprise touchid by the Lorde Bastard, and his relacion to the Kinge at Grenewiche*," etc. (fo. 34b).

22. "*The comyng of the Bastarde to Gravesende where Garter mett him*" (fo. 35). Printed in Bentley, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 197.
23. "*The metyng of the Bastarde at the Blakwall by the Constable . . .*" (fo. 35b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 198.
24. "*The comyng of the Kyng to London aftir the comyng of the Bastarde, and the solemne meetyng of him*" (fo. 36). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 198.
25. "*The presentacion of the Bastarde too the Kyng,*" etc. (fo. 36b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 199.
26. "*The comyng of the Lord Scales to London,*" etc. (fo. 36b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 200.
27. "*The Chapitre holden at Powlys by the saide Constable for the declaracion of douptes moved by hym uppon the chappitres*" (fo. 37). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 200.
28. "*The Kynge's commaundement to the Constable to purvey a convenyent place for the ffeelde*" (fo. 38b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 202.
29. "*The coming of the Lorde Scales to Saint Barthilmewe, joynyng to the est partye of the ffeelde, to doo his armes*" (fo. 39). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 203.
30. "*The Ordenance of Kepyng the ffeelde*" (fo. 39). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 203.
31. "*Thentring of the felde the day of bataill*" (fo. 39). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 204.
32. "*Here folowith the ornaments of the trapperes of the Lorde Scales in perfourmyng his acte in Smythfeeld*" (fo. 39b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 205.

33. "*The descripcion of his pavylon*" (fo. 40). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 206.
34. "*The comyng in of the Bastarde*" (fo. 40b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 207.
35. "*The Proclamacion*" (fo. 41). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 208.
36. *An account of the first day's combat* (fo. 41b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 210.
37. "*The armes doon of foote the second day*" (fo. 41b). Printed *Ibid.*, p. 210.
38. "*Le Statut de armez de turney per la parlament dengleterre*" (fo. 43). Printed *Appendix III*, p. xxiii.
39. "*Coppie des chappitrez de certain faitz darmes tant a pie come Chevall par deux gentilshomez d'almaigne touchant certain emprinse comme il sensuit.*" The name of the challenger was Gillaume de Boursset.
40. "*Le Tournoy entre le Sire de Jounelle et le Sire de Commynes*" (fo. 44).
41. "*Le Crie des Joustes*" (fo. 46b).

Oez Seigneurz Chevaliers et escuiers nous vous faisons sauoir ung tresgrand fait darmes et vnes tresnoblez Joustes lez quelles seront faictes par vng Cheualer, qui portera vng escu de gueules et sus vng blanc serf eiant ung couronne entour le col ouec vng chene pendant dor sus vng trasse verte. Et iceluy Chlr. accompagnis de vingt Chlrs. toutz avillez dune couleur. Et de puis le dimenche ix^e iour Doctobre prouchain ven^r en la neufue Abbaie pris de la Tour de Loundres. Et diceluy lieu cez mesmez Chlrs. seront menes p' vingt dames vestues dun liure et de la dessus dit couleur et seute des dessus ditz Chlrs. tout oultre et par iux la noble cite dite la neufv troy aut'ment appelee londres. Et tout oultre celle mesme porte que lez ditz Chlrs. tendront champ appelle Smitfelde et par lostell de Saint Johan appelle Clerkwell. Et la ils danseront & harront et meneront Joieuse vie. Et lendemayn^r le lundi lez dit vingt Chlrs. en vng liuree comme est dit dauant en ce mesme Champ de Smitfelde armes et montez sus lez Rens, dedans leure de haulte prime pour deliurer toutz maneres de Chlrs. qui voudront la venir pour Jouster ch'un deux six lances teles coume ils troueront sus lez Rens lezquelles lances s'ront portees a lestandart lequell estandart sera en ce mesme Champ par le quel estandart s'ront mesurez toutz lez lances dun longueure. Et lez ditz vingt Chlrs. Jousteront en haultes celles. Et que lez lancez aient raisonnables Roques. Et lez escus dez ditz Chlrs. ne seront pas couuers en nul manere de fer ne de aciere les quelles Joustes lez nobles dames et damoiselles donneront au Chlr. qui Joustera mieulx dehors vng cor garni dor Et a celuy que mieulx de deins Joustera vng blanc lourir avec vng colier dor entour de son col. Et lendemain le mercredi ensuiuant lez mesmez vingt Chlrs. dessus nommes seront veneus on deuant

dit Champe pour deliurer toutz Chlrs. et escuiers quiconques meques autant de lances comant il leur plaira a Jouster. Et la sera donn^e par lez nobles dames a celui Jour et a celui qui mieulx Joustera de hors un cercle dor. Et a celui qui mieulx Joustera dedeins vng Sainture dore. Et a la Dame ou damoisell qui mieulx dansera ou qui menera plus Joieux vie les trois Jours dauant ditz qui est a entendre le dimanche le lundi et le mardi sera done par lez litz Chlrs. vng fermail dore. Et a la Dame et Damoiselle qui mieulx dansera et Reueillera ap's elle qui est a entendre le second pris des ditz trois jours sera done vng anel dor avec vng diamant. Et quiconq' Joustera lez ditz trois jours de lance qui ne soit de la mesure de le standart ne portera ne luy sera donne null maner de pris ne gre. Et qui joustera lez ditz troys jours de non Raisonables Roques perdra son cheual et son harnoiz. Et le mercredi ensuiuant les ditz trois jours des ditz joustes seze escuiers portans escuz de guoullez, et dessus les escuz vng Griffon^e dargent, montes armes et cheuouchans en haultes cellez avec blanches soquetz et escuz comant il est dauant, tendront le champ et deliueront toutz chlrs. et escuiers qui venir y voudront au tant de lances que bon leur semblera. Et sera donne en ce mesme champ a celui qui mieulx joustera dehors vng noble courcier celle et bride. Et a celui qui mieulx joustera dedans vng beau chappellet bien onure de soye. Et sera seuretie par la vertue de cel noble pardon darmes a toutz estrangers chlrs. et escuiers qui voudront venir a la suisdit feste. Et pour demourer et passer vingt iours deu^{nt} la feste et xx iours ap's p' la vertue des treues donnees et accordes par lez deulx Rois s'unz aucun empechement leur donner. Et sur cela auoir sauconduit a toute home qui auoir le voudra du Roy n're souverain seigneur. (1).

Explicit

42. *Ordinance regulating fees of officers of arms, 1408.* (2).
43. *An account of a feat of arms at Tours, 1446, between John Chalons, an Englishman, and Louis de Beul, in which the latter was slain* (fo. 48, in French).
44. *A curious challenge of 1462 at Brussels* (fo. 52, in French).
45. See *ante*, p. xxxi.
46. *Pas d'armes of P. de Lalain at Brussels, 1462* (French) described in the *Memoires de Messire Olivier de la Marche*, in the "*Pas de la Pelerine*," held at St. Omer, 1447, and in the "*Pas de l'arbre d'or*," held at Bruges, 1468.
47. Translation into English of Vegetius, *De re militari*, by one Clifton (anno 1408) (fo. 84).
58. *Perquisites of heralds at Tilts and Tournaments* (fo. 208).
67. *Warrants of Hen. VIII. for payment of heralds fees at a tournament* (fo. 219b).

(1) Rich. II.

(2) Sir W. Dethick notes that this document is a forgery.



Appendix VI.

*Extracts from the Harleian MS. 69,
which is entitled :—*

THE BOOKE OF CERTAINE TRIUMPHES.

1. *The Proclamation, whereby Six Gentlemen challenged all comers* Harl. MS.
69, fo. 1.
*at the Just-Roiall ; To Runne in Osting-Harneis alonge a
Tilt ; And to strike 13 Strokes at Swords ; upon the Mar-
riage of Richard, Duke of York (son to K. Edward IV.)
with Anne Mowbray, Daughter to the Duke of Norfolk.
After which Proclamation, follow the Articles and
Draughts of the shields.*

Oyes, oyes. Be it vnderstand to all men that vppon knowledge had, howe the most highe most excellent and most victorious Prince the Kinge, our allers Sou'aigne and Liege Lord, purposeth to solemnize the mariage betwixt his right deare sonne Richard, Duke of Yorke, Marshall of England and Earle of Nottingham, and the right noble Anne, Ladye Mowbreye, daughter and sole heire vnto the high and mighty Prince John Late Duke of No'ffk. The matrimoniall feast whereof to be kept in his Palace of Westminster the xvth daye of January next(1). And because the laudable and noble custome of this Martiall and trivmphant Realme in tyme past hath bine at such high dayes of hono^r exercises and seates of the necessary discipline of Armes were shewed and done to experience and enable nobles to the deserving of Chivalrie, by the which our mother holy Church is defended, Kinge and Princes served, Realmes and Countreyes kept and mainteyned in Justice and peace. This considered must moue and stirre all noble Courages to imploye their p'sons in these causes, amonge the which six gentlemen of this Realme, remembering well the great number of Nobles that be therein disposed and apt to all knightly acts, considering also the royall and couragious disposition of our said sou'aigne liege Lord, least any other should take thenterprise before them, with all diligence sued vnto his grace for to licence them that the foresaid daye they might put themselves in devoire to the shewing and execution of the said discipline and exercise of Armes for the reasons aboue specified and after their power to the honouring of the said

(1) In the year 1477.

feast, and to doe things agreable to his Highnes and the Queenes and for the pleasures of all Ladies and gentlewomen, and in speciaall to be therby the rather remembred by those which haue their hearts in servitude and governance. This licence so served the King of his benigne and bounteous grace hath Condiscended and graunted to their petitions, and will that they be published and shewed in all convenient places expressing the manner of the said exercises, p'ticularly to thintent that no ignorance shall nowe be alleadged, and over that giveth licence and especiall thanks to them that will come and imploye them in that behalfe.

Here followeth Articles of the said Exercise which shalbe sett vp in Three places. Ffirst at the gate of the King's Pallace, and thervpon shall Clarendieux King of Armes with Windsor Herald giue attendance. The second vppon the stander in Cheape, and thervppon shall Norrey King of Armes with Leycester Herald giue attendance. The third vppon London Bridge, and thervppon shall March King at Armes with Chester Herald giue attendance. And these Officers of Armes for to observe all the Chardge to them belonging concerninge the said Articles.

First the said six gentlemen shall present themselves the said fiftenth daye of Januarie next in such a place as shalbe appointed by the Kings Highnes for the p'forming of the discipline and exercise abouesaid, there to aunswere that daye all comers aswell straungers as others in forme and manner following. That is to wete, ffirst at justs royall with helme and shield in man'er accustomed. Secondly to run' in Osting Harneis alonge a Tilt. And Thirdly to strike certaine strokes with swords and guise of Torneye.

These said six gentlemen bearing for devises three manner of tokens in their shields and guardbrases concerning the three different exercises, which tokens be sett there vnder to thintent that he y^e will iust shall write his name vnder the first shield and he that will run' in Ostinge Harneis shall write his name vnder the second shield, and he that will strike the strokes with the swords shall sett his name vnder the third shield.

IRM' the said six gentlemen bearing in their devises as for two of them to furnish the Justs their shields p'ted Embelike blue and tawnye, and in the first quarter an "A" of gould and therin a diamond. Other two of them to furnish the courses in Osting harneis to beare in their guard brases like Colours, and in the first quarter an "E" of gould with a ruby, and other two to furnish those that will strike with the swoord their guard brases to be semblable, save in the first quarter to be an "M" of gould with an emraude.

IRM' he that first com'eth and writeth his name vnder any of these shieldes shalbe first served, and so followingly eu'y man after his com'ing and writing certified by the King of Armes which shall giue his attendance thervpon.

IRM' of the number that shall come to the Justs royall he that first wrote his name certified by the King of Armes shall beginne and run first six courses.

IRM' after him in likewise he that com'eth in hoasting harneis and writt first his name so certified shall run other six courses first.

IRM' he that first wrote his name for striking with the swoard shall beginne, and he and his fellowe to strike Thirteen stroakes betwixt them at their advauntages all maner of wayes except the foyne, and there shall none laye hande on other.

IRM' as for the run'ing in hoasting harneis and striking with the swoard, eu'y man to be armed at his pleasure, reserved alwayes rest and advauntages.

IRM' this done for the Justs after certifying by the Kinge of Armes of the next writer he shall beginne againe with other vj courses, and after him he that wrote next for the hosting harneis other six courses.

In likewise he that next wrote for the strokes of the sward, alwayes remembred that as long as there is any of the three mainers eu'y each of them to followe other by order as aforesaid, the Kings pleasure therein alwayes reserued. And if there come so many that daye that for shortnes of daye they maye not be served the said six gentlemen will furnish them on the morowe next or such daye as the Kings Hignes will assigne.

ITM' if it happen ether in the run'ing of six courses at the Justs royall, or the six Courses in hosting harneis, or the str'king of the strokes that any be hurt disarmed or have other lett whereby he maye not furnish out the Courses nor strokes, then one of his fellowes shall nowe fulfill the said Courses or strokes.

ITM' it shall be in the choice of the Commers whither one by himselfe shall run the vj courses or els to divide them amongst his fellowes, alwaies foreseene that there be vj Courses and no more at one tyme aswell of the Justs as of the runners.

ITM' the vj gentlemen will purveye both the speares and the swords whereof the Commers shall alwayes haue the Choice.

ITM' he that best Justeth of the Commers shall haue for a prise an "A" of gould with a diamond, and he that runeth best in hosting harneis shall haue an "E" of gould with a Rubye, and he that striketh best with the sword shall haue an "M" of gould with an Emeraud.

ITM' if there be any things in these articles darke to vnderstand he that will haue them declared shall nowe come to any of the Kinges of Armes or heralds, and he shall shewe it to any of them plainly.

Hands—

Thomas Dorsett.
Richard Graye.

Sr Edward Wydevill.
J. Tyrrell.

W. Ferris.
J. Cheney.

[Here follow sketches of armorial bearings.]

W^m Trussell.
Thomas ffynes.
W^m Saye

Richard Haute.

Tho. Veare.
Richard Clyfford.
Hansard.
Poynes.

2. *The Challenge of the Ladie Maies servants, to all Comers, to be perform'd at Greenwich, To Runne 8 Cours. To shoot Standart-Arrowe or Flight. To strike 8 Strokes with Swords Rebated. To Wrestle all maner of wayes. To Fight on foot with Spears Rebated and afterwards to strike 8 Strokes with Swords, with Gripe, or otherwise. To Cast the Barre on Foot, and with the Arme, both heavie and light.*

Harl. MS.
69. fo. 2B.

Most highe and excellent Princesse, vnder your patient supportaco'n I, which am called the ladye Maie in all monethes of the yeare to lustye hearts most pleasant, certifie your Highnes howe that vnder signe and seale fully authorized by the hand of my Ladye

and sou'aigne Dame Som'er I haue free licence during the tyme of my short Raigne to passe my tyme and a fortnight in the moneth of my sister June as shalbe to my Comfort and most solace. Wherefore I being thus at my free liberty, taking my leave from her and her lustye Couragious Court all the monethes of March and Aprill for to viewe the man'er of all the whole dominion of my said Ladye, haue sailed in the scouring seas in this shippe apparell and takled after my judgment as to my nature is appropriate, and accompanied for the suerty of my person wth divers gentlemen and yeomen apt and active to any exercise that shall of them be demaunded. And where I am so fortunate to make my first arrivall in this most famous streame of honnor, fountaine of all Noblesse and part most renowned called the Realme of England, I haue availed my sailes as it appeareth, and in token my minde is determined here to abide, I haue cast out myne anchors, vnder the supportaco'n of your gracious licence to rest me and my said servants, which haue bene long travailed in the stormy seasons of March and Aprill, humbly beseeching your grace not to be miscontent that I so boldly haue enterprised arrivall without your gracious licence afore obteyned. But in manner I was inforced so to doe; as I came sailing alonge the Coast I heard newes to me not very pleasant, howe that winter, a great enemy of my Ladyes, not long agoe was honored in the moneth of february by the reason of exercise of feates of Armes, the fame whereof is not hid in all the p'ts of the world. That hath caused me in all haste to speed me hither, and sith my com'ing my heart is somewhat reioyced for I see in mynde that noble couragious hearts are determined to haue my Ladye Somer in exercise of Chivalrie. And for to stirre them the sooner to the said feates I, the Ladye Maie, humbly beseech your grace to licence my poore servants to exercise against all com'ers in waye of pleasure and pastime all such articles as hereafter enseweth, not doubting but your gracious licence obteyned all gentle couragious hearts will doe as great and greater honnor unto me, the lustye Ladye Maie, Comfort of all lusty hearts, as they did lately to the servant of the Ladye winter Dame Februarie.

The articles of the }
Ladye Maies servants } as enseweth.

IMPRIMIS at Grinwiche the ffowerteneth daie of Maie shalbe redye in the ffield certaine gentlemen p'teyning to the Ladye Maie armed for the Tilt in harneis therevnto accustomed, and there to kepe the field in such place as it shall please the Kinge to appoint from 2 of the Clocke till 5 at afternoone, to run to eu'ye com'er viij Courses, and thus the answerers all answered and served that then, if there be any that desireth for their Ladyes sake other iiij Courses, it shalbe graunted so the hower be not past, if it be then at the Queenes pleasure.

ITM' the ffiftenth daye of Maie next following there shalbe certaine Archers of the said Ladyes in the ffield at the howers aforesnamed to shoot standart arrowe and flight with all com'ers and he that will come and furthest shootes without stand at any of these gam'es or at all, that is to saie the answerer that shootes the standart furthest, to haue a prise deliued him by the judges, and he that shootes next another, and so in like Case at the arrowe and flight. Provided alwaye that he that winneth any of these prises shall not after that shoote againe for none of the prises of that game he hath once woone of during the tyme.

ITM' the sixtenth daye of Maie following there shalbe certaine gentlemen of the said Ladies at the hower aforesnamed in the ffield armed for the Turney with swordes rebated to strike with euery Commer viij strokes in waye of pleasure, as it hath bene accustomed,

and when all com'ers be aunswered and the howers not spent, then, if any of the said Commers require iiij strokes for his Ladyes sake, it shalbe gra'nted so the howers be not spent, if it be then at the pleasure of the Queene.

ITM' the xviiijth daye of Maie next shall certaine gentlemen of the said Ladyes at the said howers be redye to wrestle with all com'ers all manner of wayes at the pleasure of the Com'er as prooffes of strength ought to be vsed, and what aunswerer doeth best at this feate by sight of the judges shall haue a prise and the next another after the discretion of the judges.

ITM' the xixth daye of Maie next ensewing shall certaine gentlemen of the said Ladyes at the said hower enter into the ffield armed for to fight on ffoote with speares in their hands rebated, their swordes by their sides for the battle with vnlimd and thus with speare and sword to defend their barriers, that is to saie with speare viij strokes wherof two with foyne and vj with strokes at the aduantage of either of the dooers.

And that done to drawe their swordes and strike viij strokes every man to his best aduantage with gripe or otherwise, and when all Com'ers be aunswered and the howers not spent, then, if any of the said Com'ers require iiij strokes more of his ladyes sake either wth speare or sworde, or both, it shalbe graunted, if the howers be not spent and if it be then at the Queenes pleasure,

ITM' the xxth daye of Maie im'ediately after shall againe certaine s'vants of the said Ladyes be redye in the ffield for further prooffe of strength, as to cast the barre on foot and with the arme both heaue and light at the Choice of the Com'ers, and what aunswerer this feate best doeth at the sight of the judges shall haue a prise and the next another.

ITM' the xxjth of Maie the gentlemen to begin againe and the s'vants aforesaid to followe the next daye after and so to Continue during daye by daye after the rate of this booke afore rehearsed all the moneth of Maie and fortnight in the moneth of June, all the sondayes to be excluded from the before rehearsed feats.

ITM' that all that will aunswear the feats of exercise of Armes sett their handes to this booke(1).

Giles Capell.
Griffith Don'e.

William Courtney.
Edward Howard.
Edward Nevill.

George Harvye.

Rowland Kent.
Edmund Haward.
Edward Gilford.
Charles Brandon.
Thomas Cheney.
Richard Blunt.
W^m Kingston.
Henry Stafford.

(1) See MEYRICK, *Antient Armour*, II, 196, who notes that these justs are fully detailed in verse in a black letter book printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the Pepys Library at Cambridge, entitled:—"Here begynneth the justes of the moneth of Maye, parfurnysshed and done by Charles Brandon, Thomas Knyuet, Gyles Capel and William Hussy, the xxii yere of our souerayne lord Kyng, Henry the Seuenth."

Harl. MS.
69. fo. 3ⁿ.

3. *Here followe the articles which fflower gentlemen haue enterprised to doe by the Kings comandem^t and for the pleasure of the Ladyes, which also the Kings Highnes bathe lycenced them to aunswear to all other, and all other to aunswear to them according to these same articles, viz., to Answer all Comers, at the Kings Mannour of Sheene, to run fflower Courses.*

First the first and second daye of Maie the foresaid gentlemen shalbe found redye at the lists in Hosting harneis at the Kings Manno^r of Sheene there to aunswear all commers according to these articles folowing.

That is to be vnderstood that the foresaid dayes from the hower of nine till ffive of the Clocke then next following they shalbe redye wth eu^ye Com'er to run fflower Courses, and if it happen any of them without or within haue his horse or Armour to faile so that the iiij Courses maye not be by him accomplished, then it maye please any of that Companie to p'forme as many as shall lacke of the said iiij Courses. And if the said Com'er so disappoynted maye be readye to run againe within the tyme of the said dayes and howers appointed, then it maye be at his liberty to begin iiij other newe Courses.

And forasmuche as the Kings pleasure is to see divers men of Armes run and that euery of them maye haue disport, none of the Com'ers shall run but iiij Courses except in such wise and forme as is declared in the article aforewritten.

Also if there be not so many Com'ers as shall passe the tyme the said Howers appointed, then they that haue run afore maye begin'e againe so that none of the Com'ers run ensewingly past iiij Courses. And if there be so many Com'ers that all maye not be deliued the first daye, then they to be the first beginners the next daye.

Also that none of them within or without shall bringe no speares but such as shalbe of the Kings provision and chardge, which shalbe with vamlates and heads after his pleasure whereof the Com'ers alwayes shall haue the Choice.

Also the Kings pleasure is that the said iiij gentlemen and all other Com'ers shalbe in plaine hosting harneis, without any costly arraye of them or their horses or any other aduantage in their harneis, but onely such as they will vse in tyme of warre, which euery man maye dresse and prepare for his most ease and suertie.

Also the Kings pleasure is that eu^y com'er intending to run there such as nowe be here write their names vnder theise articles and eu^r as they come to the Court write their names, so that at the vttermost euery mans name be here vnderwritten of such as be nowe absent by the nyne and Twentieth daye of this present moneth of Aprill, for the said gentlemen shall run with none but such as shall vnderwrite his name by the said daye.

Also it is agreed afore the King by his commaundem^t and at the desire of other iiij gentⁿ whose names be next vnderwritten that we, the first named fflower gentlemen, be answered the first daye onely by them, and the second daye we shalbe redye to aunswear all Come'rs according to the articles aforesaid. And for as much as the first daye maye not be p'formed according to the same articles we shalbe redye the third daye of Maie to aunswear in like forme as we doe the second.

Also the said first iiij gentlemen praye and require euery man not to thinke that they

take this said enterprise for other intent nor presumption but in accomplishing the Kings said commandement and pleasure of the said Ladyes and also for the better exercise to learne the exercise of the deedes of Armes.

Also there shall an officer of Armes give his Attendance every daye one hower after noone and another afore noone from this daye vntill the said xxixth daye to Record the subscription of their names and the daye of the entring of the same which shalbe disposed so to just.

Sr Nich. Vaus.
Hughe Vaughan.
Sr Ric. Holt.
Robt. Knolles.
Henry Stile.
John Williams.

Sr Robt. Curson.
Anthony Pheliplice
Sr Edward Darrell.
George Hawkin.
Piers Griffin.
Jn^o Chamborne.

Roland de Vilaprise.
Jn^o Peach Tho. Digbie.
Nich. Maliverer.
Anthony de la fers.
William Bulbecke.
Crathorne.

TEMPORE HENRICI VIII.

4. *Proclamation & Articles of a Tilting to be held at the* Harl. MS.
Palace of Richmond, upon the birth of a young Princess 69. fo. 4^b.
(Mary?) Tempore Henrici VIII, where 4 Knight
Challengers are to runne 6 Courses⁽¹⁾.

Be it knowen to all men that wheras certaine l^res have been sent and directed vnto the most high noble and excellent Princesse the Queene of England and of fraⁿce from her right deare and best beloved Cousin of noble Renowne; Oone of the Realme called Cuer noble having knowledge of the good & gracious fortune of the birth of a younge Princes that it hath pleased God to send to her and to her Make which is the most ioye and comfort that might be to her and to the most renowned Realme of England considering the valiantnes vertues and expert noblesse which high aboundeth in her most deerest Cousin the King of the same hath sent iiij Knights borne in the Realme of Ceour noble whose names followeth that is to saie Ceur loyal vailant desire bone voloyr and joyouse Penser to accomplish certaine feates of Armes which at the instance and desire of the s^d Princesse hath gotten and obtayned of the Kinge our Sou^raigne Lord licence to furnish and accomplish these Articles following.

And forasmuch as after the order and honor of armes it is not lawfull for any man to enterprise armes in so high a presence without his stocke and name be of nobles descended, in considerac^on these iiij Knights be of so farre and strange p^ties they shall present themselves with their names portraid in their shieldes.

Item these iiij Knights shall present themselves in the ffield at the Palace of Richmond or els where it please the Kings Grace at the tyme of Candlemas next or nighe ther vppon in harnes for the tilt without tache or Brockett woolant peece over the head Rondall ouer the garde rest of aduantage fraude deceit or other malengine.

(1) In the margin are illuminated armorial shields. It is to be regretted that the text of this MS. is exceedingly corrupt.

ITM' to eu'ye Com'er shalbe run' vj Courses p'vided alwaies if the Com'ers be of so great number that they cannot reasonably be aunswered for one daye it shalbe lawfull for the iiij Chalengers to enter the field the second daye and so to aunswear all the com'ers to the full number be serued of such as be noble of name or of Armes and without reproach.

ITM' all speares to be garnished and brought to the field at the provision of the Chalengers of the w^{ch} speares the answerers alwaies to haue the choice.

ITM' if it happen any man to kill his fellowes horse by foule run'ing he shalbe bound that so doeth to give his horse that he rideth on to his fellowe or the price of the horse so killed at the discretion of the judges.

Who so striketh his fellowe beneath the wast or in the saddle with full course by waye of foule run'ing shall be disallowed of two speares before well broken.

ITM' who striketh his fellowe ouer chardged and disgarnished of his speare shallbe disallowed at the discretion of the judges.

ITM' who breaketh his speare aboue the Charnell to be allowed two speares well broken after the old Custome of Armes.

ITM' who breaketh his speare morne to morne to be allowed iij speares after the Custome of Armes.

ITM' who breaketh most speares is woorth the prize.

ITM' who striketh down horseman is better worth the prize.

ITM' who striketh his fellowe cleane out of the saddle is best worth the prize.

ITM' if any Chalenger or defender breake a staffe on the Tilt to be disallowed a staffe.

ITM' it is the Kings pleasure, The Queene and the Ladies with the advise of the noble and discreet judges to give prizes after their deservings unto both p'ties.

ITM' that ev'ý Gentⁿ aunswerer doe subscribe his name to the Articles.

ITM' it is the humble request of these iiij gentlemen that if in their Articles be comprised more or lesse then hon'or or curtesye requireth ever to submitt them to the Queene and the Ladyes. And they alwayes to adde and diminish at their noble pleasure.

At Westm^r the xijth daye of ffebr^r the second
yeare of King Henrye viijth

The 1 daye

The 2 daye

Richard Graye.

Will'm Parre.

Rich. Blunt.

S^r Rowland [*sic*]

Christopher Willoughbye.

Tho. Cheney.

Robt. Morton.

Tho. Tirrell.

L. Marques.

Tho. Haward.

S^r Char. Brando'.

Leonard Graye.

Tho. Lucy.

Jnⁿ Greye.

Griffith Doon.

S^r Tho. Bolen.

Henr. Stafford.

Edmund Howard.

Ric. Tempest.

John Melton.

Henry Guyldse.

5. *Petition and Articles of 4 Gentlemen Challenging all Comers (to the Lawnde of Greenwich), To the Feate called the Barriers, with the Casting Speare, and the Targett & with the Bastard-Sword, Point and Edge Rebated.* Harl. MS.
69. fo. 5a.

Where it is and ever hath bine of old antiquitie vsed in this Realme of most noble fame all lustye gentlemen to passe the delectable season of summer after divers manner and sondry fashion of disporte as in hunting at the red deere and the fallowe with houndes greyhoundes & the bowe, also in hawking with hawkes of the Tower and also for the ffield with other pastimes right Conuenient which were to long here to rehearse. And by cause it is well knowen that as yet I meane the monethes of Maie and June all such disporte be not conveniently prest and redye to be executed wherefore in the eschewing of Idlenes the ground of all vice, and to exercise that thing that shall be honorable and to the bodye healthfull and profitable: in our most humble man'er beseech your most noble Highnes two gentlemen assosyatyng to them two other gentlemen to be their aides to give vs your gracious licence to furnish certaine articles concerning the feate of Armes hereafter ensewing.

FIRST there shalbe a greene tree sett vp in the lawnd of Grenwich Parke the xxijth day of Maie wher vpon shall hange by a greene lace Vergesen Blanke in which white shield it shalbe lawfull to any Gentleman that will aunswear this Challenge ensewing to subscribe his name.

ITM' the said two gentⁿ with their two aides shalbe redye the said xxij[*sic*] daie of Maie being Thursdays and Mondays then next ensewing and so eu'ye Thursdays and Mondays till the xxth daie of June armed for the foote to aunswear all gentlemen Com'ers at the feate called the Barriers with the Casting speare and the Targett and with the bastard sword after this man'er following that is to saie from vj of the Clocke in the forenoone till sixe of the Clocke in the afternoone during the tyme.

ITM' the said two gentⁿ with their two aiders or one of them shall there be redye at the said place the daye and dayes afore rehearsed to deliver any of the gentlemen answerers of one Cast with the speare hedded with the morne and xij strokes with the sword point and edge rebated without Close or griping one another with thandes vpon paine of such punishment as the Judges for the tyme being shall thinke requisite.

ITM' it shall not be lawfull to the Challengers nor to the Answerers with the bastard sword to give or offer any ffoyne to his match vpon paine of like punishment.

ITM' the Challengers shall bring into ffield the saide dayes and tymes all manner weapons concerning the said ffeate that is to saie casting speares headed with mornes and bastard swordes poynt & edge rebated and the answerers to have the first choice.

TEMPORE HENRICI VIJ.

Harl. MS.
69, fo. 6.

6. *Petition and Articles of the Justs-Royall to be held at Westminster, by 4 Gentlemen Challenging all Comers (upon the creation of Henry, the second sonne to King Henry VII.) to Run 6 courses with speares. To Tourney 18 strokes with swords.*

For so much as is Come to the notice and knowledge of iiij gentlemen of this your most royall and honorable Court that your Highnes intendeth and purposeth by God's grace and sufrance in briefe tyme to giue creac'on vnto the right high and mightye Prince my L. Henry your 2. sonne. And at like tymes it hath bene vsed alwayes, and accustomed of auncientie within this your noble Realme for the laude and hon'or of the ffeast to haue Justs and Tourney for the exercise of feats and deedes of Armes. Therefore we, the iiij said gentlemen beseech your Hignes in our most humble wise to p'mitt and licence vs at the ffeast aforesaid to hold and kepe a Juste royall and to aunswer all gentlemen Com'ers of what nation soever they be as well your subiects as other both at the Justs and at the Tourney according to the Articles here following.

FIRST we the s^d fflower Gentlemen desire and praye all the Nobles and Gentlemen Commers not to thinke that we take this enterprise vppon vs for any manner presumptio' but onely for the lawde and honno' of the s^d ffeast, the pleasure of the Ladyes and for our owne learning and exercise of deedes of Armes and to ensewe the said auncient and lawdable Custome.

ITM' the said iiij gentlemen shalbe found redye at Westm^r the iiijth daye of November next coming to kepe the said Juste in the said place appoynted by the Kings highnes, which shal beginne at xj of the Clocke befoare Noone there to aunswere all gentlemen Com'ers and to run'e with eu'ye Com'er one after another vj courses ensewingly, and to continewe that daye as long as it shall like the Kinge's Grace, with such speares as by the Kinge's Highnes shalbe ordeyned and appointed for this intent of the which speares the s^d Com'ers shall have the choice.

ITM' the said vj Courses by euerye of the gentlemen Com'ers p'formed and the daye not spent in pleasure and sport according to the effect of these articles then it shalbe lawfull to the same Com'ers to begin'e againe other vj Courses and so to continewe one after another as longe as it shall please the Kinges Hignes.

ITM' if it happen any of the same gentlemen or other within or wth out that his horse fayleth him or himselfe to be vnarmed in such wise as he not [*sic*] conveniently accomplish the whole Courses then it shalbe lawfull to his felowe to finish up the said Courses.

ITM' the said iiij gentⁿ on the ixth daye of the said moneth of November shall in likewise be found redye to horsbacke at the said place & hower to Tourney with iiij other gentlemen with such swords as the Kings Grace shall ordaine till xviij strokes by one of them be given to the other and to strike all manner of wayes the foyné onely except of the which swordes it shalbe lawfull also to the fower said Com'ers to have the choice.

ITM' whosoeu' shall Certifye and giue Knowledge of his name and of his Com'ing to the said ffeaste for thintente abouesaid to one of the iij Kings of Armes whither it be by the Juste or at the Tourney he shalbe first aunswered according to the articles Thestates all wayes reserved which shall haue the p'heminence.

ITM' if any of the said Com'ers thinke that the said speares or sworde be to easye for him the said iiij gentlemen wilbe redye to aunswear him or them after their owne minde the Kings licence obteyned in that behalf.

ITM' the said iiij gentlemen beseech the Kings Hignes that these articles signed with his noble hand maye be sufficient Commaundement vnto any of the Kings of Armes to publish and declare the same as well without [*sic*] this his Court as in other places where it shalbe thought most convenient.

The Kinge our sou'aigne Lord considering the noble and couragious hearts and desires of the said iiij gentlemen hath thaunckfully graunted their petitions in this behalfe and licenced againe all other gentlemen of his saide Realme or other nations to accomplish the Articles abouesaid. And whosoeu' Justeth best in the Justs royall shall have a Ringe of Gould with a Rubie of the value of And who soever Courseth best and fayrest accomplishing his strokes shall haue a Ringe of Gould with a Diamond of like value (1).

Sr Edward of Burrough }
Rowland of Belliville } at Justs Royall.

Henry Winslowe } Sr Ed. Darrell } both at Justs Royall
William Crathorne } Tho. Brandon } and at Tourney.

Guilliam de Rivers at both Tournaies.

Mylo of Suffolke, Therle of Essex, Sr Robt. Curson, John Peché promised to come the last daye of Juste and Tourneye as aunswerers.

John Williams at both the same last days.

7. *Petition of 4 gentlemen to H. VII. to be received into His Royal* Harl. MS
Army purposed for Fraunce, but first that he would 69, fo. 7.
Authorize their Challenge of all Comers to the Tilt, to
Run 6 Courses; for 2 days together: Which being per-
formed they will be ready (upon 8 days warning) to
answer all Comers, in any Realme or Place where the King
shall be for one year and a day longer.

(1) See also MEYRICK, *Antient Armour*, II, 195.

Harl. MS.
19, fo. 7B.

8. *Challenge of 6 Noble persons to hold a Justs-Royall and Tourney at Westminster, for the Pleasure of the King, the Queene and the Princess, the King's eldest daughter, where the 6 challengers and Six Answerers shall altogether Run against each other with spears on Horseback: And after the Course Passed, to Fight with swords until the King command them to Cease.*

Where it is so that divers noble p'sons haue enterprised and vndertaken to hold a Justs royall and Tourney the iijth and ixth daye of November at Westminster, as plainly doth appeare by their Articles. And forasmuch as at so noble a feast divers and sondrye exercise of Armes is vsed, therefore and to thintent that if there be any gentleman or other men of Armes that present not them selves at the said dayes of Justs or Tourneye. There be vj gentlemen that will make them disport the xxijnd daye of November, according to these Articles e'sewing if it so shall please the King's Highnes, for whose pleasure the Queene and all the Ladyes they vndertake the said enterprise, and specially for the pleasure of their redoubted Ladye and fairest younge Princesses the eldest Daughter to our Sou'aigne Lord the Kinge.

FIRST in the place appointed for the said Juste and Tourneye there shalbe ordained against the said xijth daye a good number of speares and swordes such as shall please the King's Grace and the said vj gentⁿ present in the same place in hosting harneis to aunswere other vj gentⁿ in this man'er wise.

The vj Com'ers shall take a speare and a sworde euery of them. In likewise the vj gentⁿ putting themselves in range directly against their fellows euery man his speare on his thighe and his sword where it shall please him and them at the sound of the Trumpette to Chardge and run' together all at once eu'ye man' to his fellowe that shall stand againe and so passe through.

ITM' this Course with the speare passed eu'ye man to take his sword and doe his best onely the ffoyne except choosing his felowe by ffortune as it shall happe, and so to continewe vnto the tyme y't the K. shall com'and to cease.

ITM' if any man of Armes breake his sword or loose it by any ffortune he maye returne to the scaffold where the Heralde be & theer receaue another, and so enter into the torney againe. Also it shall not need that euery man continewe still in fighting with him when [*sic*] he shall first incounter but if he will, but maye also search to and fro' taking his aduantage and helping his fellowe if need be always defend that noe man set hand on other but with his sword to do his best as twaine to sett vppon one alone vnless then it be in the ayding of his fellowe as above.

ITM' if it happe that there come to aunswear this enterprise more than the number of vj, it shalbe at the Kings pleasure if the said gentⁿ shall aunswere them at such dayes as shall please his grace or els to be divided halfe with them, and the other halfe againe them, alway observing the aforesaid Articles.

ITM' if any man be disarmed he maye withdrawe him selfe if he will, but once passe the barryes, he maye not come againe into the Tourney for that daye also there shall no man haue no servant within the Barres with no peece of harneis for no man' shalbe within the said Barres but such as be assigned by the Kings grace.

ITM' who shall best haue demeaned himselfe at the same Act of Armes shall haue a sword garnished to the value of iij^c Crownes or vnder.

ITM' eu'ry man' that wilbe at the said Tournaye shall deliver his name to one of the Three Kings of Armes by the last daye of October who shall declare to them if any doubt be to be made in the said Articles.

ITM' if any man strike a horse with his speare he shalbe put out of the Tourney without favo^r incontinent. And if any slea a horse he shall paye to the Owner of the said horse a C. Crownes in recompence. Also it is not to be thought that any man will strike a horse willingly, for if he doe it shalbe to his dishonnor.

Therefore the said vj gentⁿ besechen vnto the Ks. noble Grace that this bill of the said articles signed with his most noble hand maye be a sufficient warrant and Commaundem^t vnto his Officers of Armes to make p^rclamac^on therof as well in his most noble Court as in such other places as it shalbe requisit. William Croythron.

9. An Ordinance in regard to fees for banners payable to Harl. MS. heralds. 69, fo. 8b.
10. Account of Justs at Tours between Jehan Chalons, an *Ibid.*, fo. 9. Englishman, and Loys de Beul, 1446, who was killed.
11. *Le Challenge Phillip de Bouton . . . qui ait charge et Esleve Ibid.*, fo. 11.
Emprise de un Fleuer Penser a tacher a son bras dextre, lequel il portra ouverte jusque autant que il defendra au Royaulme a'Angleterre, en la Compagnie de son Seigneur Monsieur le Bastard de Burgoigne, comme a la Roche. Dat. 1 May, 1467.
 (Printed in BENTLEY, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 220, which also gives the challenge of Loys de Brutallis and *le reponse* of Sir Jehan de Chassa.)
12. *Comencement de la declarac'on du pas a l'arbre d'or. Harl. MS. 69, fo. 12.*
La Declarac'on du Pas a l'Arbre d'Or. How the Lady L'Isle sent her Knight with a rich tree of Gold, for him to sett near Brughes, and there to Challenge the Nobles of the Duke of Burgundie's Court both to the Justs and to the Tourney, the Articles whereof do follow. Dated July A.D. 68 (i.e., 1468).

En l'honneur de dieu puissant et com'e soubz sa grace et bonte. Je pour Chlr. nom'e a l'arbre d'or en voiageant p' diuerses longtaines Regions apres maintes dangereuses et

estRICTES aduentures passees vne singulierement et en ce derniers Jours non longuement passees ny ayt este cause de singulier Reguard et de grand Rendic'on de louange de dieu par recoignesance. Et de quoy sans plus reiterer sup'flument Choses dites dessus Treshault est tresnoble Princesse la dame de Lisle celee ma metresse et madame par ses lres. et missibles presentement a informe et inverti en ma faveur le tres excellent et tres puissant Prince le Duc de Bourgoigne mo' resdoubte Seigneur icy present. Et lesquelles lres. de met a met sont mises droite cy au front de me present Chapitres souffisamment declaratif de toutes le causes et circonstances qui mont pen mouuoir et qui me mouuent a droit cy au ceste grorieuse maison de Burgoigne estre armee y avoir pris and quits grace et licence pour y querir habitude et amiable acquaintance avec la noble Chiualrie dicelle Soubz gracieux com'unication et assay d'armes l'un avec l'autre. Et de quoy le commandem^t ma este donnee oultre ma valure et lim'onccion diceluy p' moy emprise moues bien avise que bien digne a tous haults et nobles Princes Barons Chlrs. et escuiers de ceste tres noble humilitie faiz ass'r que ensuivoient certaines requestes a moy faictes p' treshault et tresnoble dame la dame de Lisle celee soubz le mistere d'un precieux riche arbre d'or mis en ma main p' icelle a certaines condic'ons touteffois et circonstance a moy bien difficile Icelluy arbre d'or soubz la grace et vray noble agreem^t de tres excellent Prince Mons^r le duc de Burgoigne feray planter en melieu de sa ville de Brugis sur la marcheatell et si faite misterez et gardes com'e l'ordinaire a moy enioyncte sur se porte et contiente. Et com'e distinctem^t par mes Chapitres cy apres et tout au plain sera viuement desclairer afin de generall informac'on publique et dont ch'un se Content. Dont et com'e le nature de cestui Riche arbre d'or ainsi plante et Curieusem^t garde porte effecte d'armes et de cheualereux mestier p' moy emprise non p' presumption mais par commandem^t pour maudrir et pour grandir et accroistre l'honneur d'auntry en mon pour emprise. Je supplie en toute humilitie a tous nobles et haultz princes Barons Chlrs. et escuiers de ceste grorieux maison que apres les devisemens de mes chapitres faictes et oyes. Il leur plaise de leur grace moy prester faveur et acquiescence en mes humbles pries. Eulx disposer liberalm^t et a donne de bonne courage a ma deliuerance et au secret de mon emprendre lequell orig'elem^t et a tous endroite moient de vray noble amour et d'honneur envers noblesse. Pourquoi com' ie suis enforme de la p'fondesse d'honneur et des vertueux qui ceans reposent en marveleuse clairte Tout plus je me fie aussi et ose esperer ma vifue expedico'n p' vos nobles mains que dieu garde d'encombre.

SENSUIT la forme en pas a l'arbre d'or. Le Chlr. a l'arbre d'or faict assaouir a tous princes Barons escuiers et generalem^t a tous ceux a qui noble pardon d'armes app'tient qui pour le desir et vouloir de sa belle Dame accomplir a son pouoir il a empris soubz Congie suffisant de faire et tenir vng pas touste de Jouste que de Tournoye. Et lesquell pas se Comensera par la Jouste et se assougeray p' le chappliez des espees rabattues et sans pointe par les chapitres et condic'ons si dess^a escrits. Et en esperant la Rompture de cent et vne lances ou qui cent vne lances Rompues en ceste empris. A entendre qu'il Rompe cent et vne Lance ou qui cent et vne launcies soit rompues sur luy lesdit Chlr. entrepreneur en ceste p'tie entend a se delibrer de courre p' viij Jours suivant comencens ce dimanche iij Jour de present moys de Juliet l'an lxviij.

Et pour ce que lesdit Chlr. a l'arbre d'or quert et desir de tout son pouuoir avoir l'accomm^tance amour et priuaute de princes Chlrs. et nobles hom'es de ceste triumphale et re'nome maison et soy esprouuer a la chialrie et prouesse de plusiures. Il a ceste cause comprise et compile son dit pas et empris par telle maniere quil courra tous les jours

a iiij nobles homes et a Chu'n demie heure d'orloge sans comprendre en ch'un demie heure les encombre delays aultre temps perdu com'e plus a plain sera declaire cy apres.

SENSUYT LES CHAPITRES.

Le premier Chapitre que len trouuera les lisses prestes com'e il app'toient et ou meliu plantee vn riche arbre d'or auquell arbre sera enchainee vn geant et aupres sur vn peron aura assiz vn main [*sic*] lequell aura vn cor a son coll et deuant vn orloge de Sablon courent le space de demie heure et lequell com'encera courra a la premier Lance couchee et gardera lentire de sa lisse arbre d'or lequell sera en vn pavillolien.

Le ij Chapitre est tel que Chlr. ou escuyer quiouldra venir audite pas sera tenu d'estre a la entree de lisses a tel heure que p' arbre d'or luy sera dit et signifie monte et arme com'e a tel casse app'teient accompagnie de six homes a cheuall et quatre pieds et non plus reseruez pages a cheval s'il en a lequell entrerons dedans tout que le Joste encommencera deuant lesques Chlr. ou escuyer aura vn officier d'armes lequell portera vn escu armoy des armes dudit Chlr. ou escuyer pour prendre a l'arbre d'or.

Le iij Chapitre que nul ne pourra amener dedens les lisses plus de gens que dit est reseruez les princes lesquel en pourrant amener tant que bon leur semblera.

Le iiij Chapitre que a L'entre des lisses sera tenu lesdit venant au pas de faire frapper d'un gros martell de boys lequell prendra au barryer troys coups et lors sauldre arbre d'or du pauillion lequell demande in que cest. Et lors ouy le responce retournera au nom lequell deschainera lesdit Chlr. dedans les lisses presentez aux dames.

Le v. Chapitre que quand lesdit Chlr. aura fait vn tour autour de la toyle retournera a son bout. Et lors lesdit arbre d'or appterera deux lances toutes garnies dont lesdit Chlr. prendra le choisi. Et lors quand il sera prest lesdit nain sonnera son cor. Et apres ce le Chlr. a l'arbre d'or souldra hors a lautre bout p' vne porte auquell sera baille La lance dont ils seront tenuz de courre tant quil soit rompue et auquell cas se bailleront autres et ainsix Courre la moitie demie heure.

Le vj Chapitre que incontinent que lesdit Chlrs. com'enceront a Courre led' nain dretera en cas que l'un ne fust disarmee en quel cas lesd' Chlrs. seront tenuz de courre et de la en avant en sera fait par ceste maniere.

Le vij qui sil avoient que dit on ne vueilie que l'un desd' Chlrs. fust blessee ou disarmee tant que pour ce iour ni eust remede de plus Courre en ce cas ledit Chlr. a l'arbre d'or pourra mettre autre en son lieu tel que bon luy semblera pour fournir son dit pas mais en cas quil aduenit au Chlr. venant au dit pas sera tenu pour accomplir de sa p'sonne sens en plus faire.

Le viij que Celuy qui durant la demi heure rompra le plus de Lances sur son Compagn'on p' la maniere cy apres desclairer gaignera vne verge d'or laquelle celuy qui mains en aura rompu sera tenu de luy faire presentez avant le partir des lisses telle que bon semblera a ch'un.

Le ix que sil aduentsit dit a ne vueille que L'un de deux fust porte p' terre d'attaint de Launce sans cheuall ou a tout cheuall celuy qui ainsi l'aura abatu gaignera vn Rubie e'chasse en vn verge d'or laquelle luy sera presentee sur les reuez.

Le x que nulle lance ne sera tenue Rompue selle ne rompue d'attainte au dessus de la selle et vne poignie entre le Rochett et la grap du moins.

Le xj que lesd's Chlr. a l'arbre d'or liureraz toutes le lances garnies de Roches de grappe et de Rondellez de quoy on courra audit pas sans que nul puisse courre dautre Et donc le s'd' Chlr. venant aura le choise a ch'une fois.

Le xij que la demie heure sera passee et que l'orologe du nain sera courre hors et quil cernerá serant p' arbre d'or aportez deux placons dont le Chlr. de dehors aura le choiz desquelz deux plac'ons seront tenuz de courre vne course sans plus pour l'amour de la dame Lisle celet atainte ou non plus.

Le xiiij que sur vne heure au melieu de Reuez aura deux ou trois nobles homes ordonnees par mon dit seigneur avec iiij officiers d'armes lesquels seront Juges de Lances Rompues et que plus en aura rompue et le mieulx besoigne. Et aussi de tous aultres debatz qui souldra pourroit durant lesdit pas afin de scauoir iustement donner le pris sans faueur a qui l'aura mieulx gaignie et lesquels en seront croiez par leur serement.

Le xiiijth qui celuy qui durant le pas par sa demie heure aura le plus rompue de lances sur le chlr. de l'arbre d'or par la maniere cy dessus desclaira cela presente le pris de destrier couuert ensemble le harnais enquez et sur quoy le Chlr. a l'arbre d'or aura courru pour celuy iour lequel destrier couuert et harnois luy sera presente sur les Reuez et deuant le dames.

Le xv et dernier Chapitre. Et pour se que le Chlr. a l'arbre d'or est estrangier et petitement accompagnie de gentz et de Conseil requiert en nome de la dame de Lisle celle sa maistresse en toute humilite a tout le Chlrs. Princes et nobles hom'es qui a ces pas aurent couru qu'il leur plaise luy faire tant de honneur et de courtoisie que de la compaignier de landeman quilz aurent couree contre luy asscauoir iiij a iiij ainsi quil aurent este a pas de laquelle chose derchef il supplie treshumblement lui estre ainsi accorde &c. Pourueu toutefois que nul ne pourriert changer cheval sur pain de perdre le pris.

SENSUIVE'T LES CHAPITRES DE TOURNOY.

Le premier est tell. Tous nobles homes personnellement qui contre Chlr. enterprenez aurent courru seront tenuz de eulx ioyndre et associer avec lesd' Chlr. afin davec lui fournir le Tournay et porter le faiz du Chapliz despees a l'encontre de tous ceulx qui venir y voudroient. Et porteront tous com'e lesd' Chlr. paruees et en seigneza l'arbre dor en souuenance de la dame L'issle celee.

Le ij. Et tous ceulx que deueront tournir cestuy noble pas seront tenuz de eux presenter a treshault et victorieux Prince Mons' le Duc de Burgoigne au Jour et a l'heure qu'il leur sera ordonne.

Le iij que a l'heure que leur sera signifie ilz seront tenuz d'envoyer tous a vn foys p'senter leurs escuez afin destre mis a l'arbre d'or ainsi et par le maniere que ceulx de la Joute.

Le iiij que null ne pourra apporter espees si non quelles soit sans pointez et Rebatuz telles et si raisonnables come a noble et france Tournay app'toient lesquelles seront presentes au Juges p' les officiers d'armes pour le visitier. Et apres ce nain feray apporter plusieurs Lances des quelles le chef de venans de dehors et se compaignons en pourroient choisir ch'un vne et les autres le dit nain les pourtera au Chlr. entreprendre et a ses Compaignons.

Le v. Et quand ils seront fourniz de Lances et despees d'un Coste et d'autre lesdit nain ce retraira au pied de l'arbre d'or et sonnera cen cor. Et incontinent com'enceront a courre ch'un vn course de Launce sealem' et tous a vn fois. Et puis mettront le main aux espees ou frappant du hault des bras tant et si longuement que p' le Jugement de dames la promesse promise a la dame d'Lisle celee p' le Chlr. a d'arbre d'or puisse estre accompli. Et que leur plaisir soit de faire de partir la meslee.

Le vij. Et tantost apres la bataille cesse lesdit Chlr. entreprenenz fera equeir aux dames et aux Juges de celle feste qui este celuy d'un coste ou daultre qui le mieulx aura feray despee pour celee fois et icceluy devant partir de Reuez feray presenter p' arbre d'or son Cheual couuert et son harnois pour les pris diceluy Tournoy.

Le vij. Et a fin que toutes choses soient mieulx fait et entendues durant le temps de ceste noble Emprise tant de la Joustes com'e du Tournoy mon tresdoubte Seigneur ordonner nobles homes a ce cognoissans lesquelz auront pouuoir de ordonez sur le tout com'e seroit la p'sonne de mon dit Seigneur.

Le viij et dernier Chapitre. Et apres le pris Tournoy baillee du Chlr. entrepreneur a telle heure expediera arbre d'or le herault le Chlr. pignant le grant p'sonnier et ses souldiers Et p' Eulx enuiera a la dame de Lisle celee son arbre d[or ?] enrichi des nobles blaisens dont dessus et fait mention. Et ainsi et p' celle maniere sera acheuee L'adventure de l'arbre d'or. Et le Chlr. entrepreneur accompagnes de tous ceulx qui contre luy aurent Joustes et tournoy accompagnera les dames en leur hostelz. Et puis se retraire pour mettre fine a ceste Emprise.

Si prie et requert en toute humilite le Chlr. a l'arbre d'or entrepreneur en ceste p'tie a vous tresexcellent et tresvictorieux Prince et mon tresredoubte Seigneur mo'sr le Duc de Burgoigne quil tous plaise de vous tant humilier en la requeste de laditte enterprise accomplir que v're plaisir soit de assertie le ingenit de chose. Et de prester luy faueur et noblesse pour la fourniture de ce Et se dieu donnoit tant de eur aud' suppliant que vous qui tant de feus vous este traine a l'exercice d'armes vous sasse p'sonalem't trauailer en la accomplissem't de vouloir de la belle dame led' Chlr. le tendroit a plus grand eur qui luy pooirroit aduenir Requert et supplir tous aultre Princes Barons Chlrs. et generallem't tous tous nobles homes de eulx vouloir trauailer en ceste matiere com'e pour eulx a telle deliuan'ce le feroient en tel cas Requiert aussi tres humblem't Princesses dames et damoiselles de prendre le pain de voyr lessay de Cheualrie esprouuer qui contre luy viend. Et aussi quil veullet induire et inthertier leur amis et seruiteurs d'accomplie la requeste dud' suppliant qui supplira au dieu d'amours quil vous doient p'venir a ce que plus desirs. Amen.

Ex finit le pas a l'arbr d'or(1).

- 12A. Relation by Garter to Ed. IV. of the arrival of three Hungarian Knights desiring to just with the English, with instructions to Garter and Articles of Justs and Tourney. Harl. MS. 69, fo. 14.
13. Justs at Greenwich, 20 May, 8 Hen. VIII. *Ibid.*, fo. 16B.
14. The Statute of Arms. *Ibid.*, fo. 17.
15. Copy of Articles of certain feats of arms to be done by two Germans. *Ibid.*

(1) Cf. BENTLEY, *Excerpta Historica*, p. 223.

Harl. MS.
69, fo. 18.

16. Justs at Westminster, 32 Hen. VIII.

Ibid., fo. 19.

17. The Ordinances of J. Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester,
29 May, 6 Ed. IV.

These Ordinances are illustrated by pictures (See *Appendix IV*, ante, p. xxvii).

Ibid., fo. 20B.

18. *Declaration and Conditions of Performing Feats of Arms before and at a Castle called Loyall, at the gate whereof a white Unicorne sustained four shields :*

The first White, signifying to the Justs ; whoso toucheth that, to be answered v Courses at the Tilt.

The second Red, signifying to the Tournaye ; who toucheth that, to be answered 12 strokes with the Sword, Edge and Point Rebated.

The third Yellow, signifying to the Barriers ; who toucheth that, to be answered at the Barriers 12 strokes with one hand sword, the Point and Edge Rebated.

The fourth Blue, signifying to th'assault, and who touched that, to Assault the said Castle with Sword and Targett, and Morrice Pike, withe the Edge and Point Rebated.

Ibid., fo. 21B. 19. *Challenge of 6 noble persons to the Justs, etc.*

Ibid., fo. 22B. 20. *Challenge of Don Fredericke de Toledo, the Lord Straunge, Don F. de Toledo, Don F. de Mendoza and Garfilase de la Vega, etc., to fight on foot, at the Barriers, with all Comers.*

Ibid., fo. 23B. 21. *Form of Proclamation to be made by the King-at-Arms in the Presence Chamber, upon the Queen's distribution of the Prizes to them, who had best exercised the Feates of Armes at the Tilt, Tourney and Barriers.*

Moreover that all such Triumphes as are agreed vpon by the Chalenger and allowed by the Prince, shalbe published by the K. of Armes of the Province in such places as

shalbe appoynted by the Prince. And also that the next night after any such triumphes is ended the guiste of the Prizes is to be proclaymed by the said K. of Armes in the presence Chamber after the second Course be served the manner whereof hereafter followeth.

Oyes, Oyes, Oyes, we let to vnderstand to all Princes and Princesses Lordes Ladyes and Gentlewomen of this noble Court and to all others to whom it apperteyneth that the Nobles that this daye haue exercised the feates of Armes at the Tilt Tourney and Barriers haue euery one behaued themselues most valiantly in shewing their prowesse and valour worthy of great prayse.

And to beginne as touching the braue entrie of the L. Lo. made by him very gallantly, the K. Ma^{tie} more braue then he, and aboue all the Earle F. vnto whom the prize of a very rich Ring is given by the Q. Ma^{tie} by the advise of other Princesses Ladyes and gentlewomen of this noble Court.

And as touching the Valiantnes of the Pikes the D. M. hath very valiantly behaued himselfe, the Earle of P. better then he and aboue all others the Earle of D. vnto whom the prize of a Ringe of gold with a Rubye is given by the most high and mighty Princesse the Queene of England by the advise aforesaid.

And as touching the valiantnes of the sworde Sr G. H. Knight hath very well behaued himselfe, the Earle A. better then he, and Sr J. P. Knight aboue all the rest vnto whom is given the Prize of a Ring of gould with a diamond by the Queenes most excellent Ma^{tie} by the advise of other Princesses Ladyes and Gentlewomen.

And as touching the valiantnes of the sword at the foyle Sr W. H. Knight hath very valiantly behaued himselfe, the Marques T. better then he, and aboue all others the K. Ma^{tie} vnto whom was given the prize of a Ring of gould with a diamond by the Queenes Ma^{tie} by the advise of other Princes Ladyes and Gentlewomen.

Finally touching the Valiancy of the pike the point abated Thomas P. hath well and valiantly behaued himselfe, Charles C. better then he, and aboue others R. S. vnto whom was given by the Queenes Ma^{tie} a Ring of gould by the advise of other Princes Ladyes and Gentlewomen.

22. *Fees appteyning to thofficiars of Armes at all thos Triumphes aforesaid.* Harl. MS. 69, fo. 24.

First if any of the said Chalersgers or defendants fall to the ground horse and all, the said horse ought to be the Officers of Armes.

Item at all Justs with speares or axes that is made in close field the covertures of the horses behind, the saddles, the Coates of Armes of the Chalersgers or defendants with all the speares, axes and swordes brused and broken, the seats wheron the said Officers of Armes sitt belong vnto them. And furthermore the K. of Armes or Herauld that proclaymeth the said Justs shall haue six elles of scarlett and during the said Justs their waidges and also all the ban'ers Standerds and Coates of Armes that be worne in that field that daye belong to the said Officers.

Also what nobleman soever he be that entreth into the said ffield or Justs. The first tyme he ought to giue the Officers of Armes v. Crownes of gould for the marshalling of his armes that tyme and no more.

- Harl. MS. 23. *The Maner and Order of Combating within Lystes, sett downe*
 59, fo. 25. *by Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, Uncle to Kinge Richard II.*
(illustrated).
 (This also appears in the *Hastings MS.*, and is printed in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LVII,
 Part I, at p. 61.)
- bid.*, fo. 28B. 24. *The 1st Book of the Justs and Banketts and Disguisings used*
at the Intertaynement of Katherine, Wife to Prince Arthure,
Eldest Sone to K. Henry VIII.

Extracts from other Harleian MS.

- [Harl. MS. 93,
 o. 123.
id.,
 o. 124.
 Harl. MS. 80,
 o. 36.
id.,
 o. 134.
 Harl. MS. 54,
 o. 11.
 Harl. MS. 76,
 o. 43.
 Harl. MS. 54,
 o. 80.
 Harl. MS. 76,
 o. 2.
 Harl. MS. 42,
 o. 88.
 Harl. MS. 48,
 o. 20.]
- Hoc est breve Dñi Regis Ric. I. Missum Dño Cantuariensi, de*
concessione Torneamentorum in Anglia.
- Haec est forma servandae Torneatoribus.*
- Instances of Trials in England by Ordeal and Duel.*
- Of Legal Duels or Combats.*
- The Ordinances of J. Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester.*
- Ditto.*
- Ditto.*
- Of the antiquity, use and ceremony of Combats in England,*
by James Whitlock, etc.
- Text in French of Challenge of Lord Scales to the Bastard*
of Burgundy.
 (Printed in S. BENTLEY, *Excerpta Historica*, Ed. 1831, p. 176.)
- A General Challenge, at Tilt, Tourney, and Barriers, signed*
Lenox, Southampton, Pembroke, Mountgomery, dated 1602.
In defence of these Propositions. "1. That in Service of

Ladies, Knights have no free-will. 2. That it is Beautie maintains the World in valour. 3. That noe fare Ladie was ever false. 4. That none can be perfectly wise but Lovers." Addressed to all honourable men at Armes and Knights Adventurers of hereditarie note and exemplarie noblesse, that for most memorable actions doe wield either Sword or Launce in quest of Glorie.

Au combat appelle Buhort.

Buhort est vng combat en forme de parcq serré, qui est diminutif de tournay qui nest crye ne proclayme et sans perron et blason. Et se faict pour les playsirs des Seigneurs lesquelz se bandent lung contre vng. Cent contre cent et ioustent et rompent pour plaisir devant le Roy la Royne et les dames. Et vng pris volontaire quilz mettent es mains des iuges pour estre distribue au plus rompant partie duquel pris et aulcunefois donne en forme de largesse aux heraultx, par le vainquer du Buhort, car si aulcun chevall tombe du Combat ou advenoit aulcun cas que les Heraultz deussent auoir ilz ny auroient rien veu qu'il ny a point Douuerture publique de tournoy. Et ainsi quilz sont tenus a la gentillesse a la condicon' desus d'.

Harl. MS.
6069,
No. 66.

De combat appelle pas ou barrière.

Il y a plusieurs manieres de combatz qui sont a la fantasie des chlrs. comme launeau et aultres ieus darmes. Mais ceulx icy dedans declaree sont de plus aunciens. Tellement que aunciennement les chivaliers sestillantz et exercitans parties contre parties a sauluer et garder vng pas faict en forme de berrière Aulcunefois [*sic*].

Ibid. No. 6

Combat between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk.

Harl. MS.
6079,
No. 36.

Of the habiliments of Knights and Esquires(1) *(temp. Edward I.)*

Harl. MS.
6149, No. 3

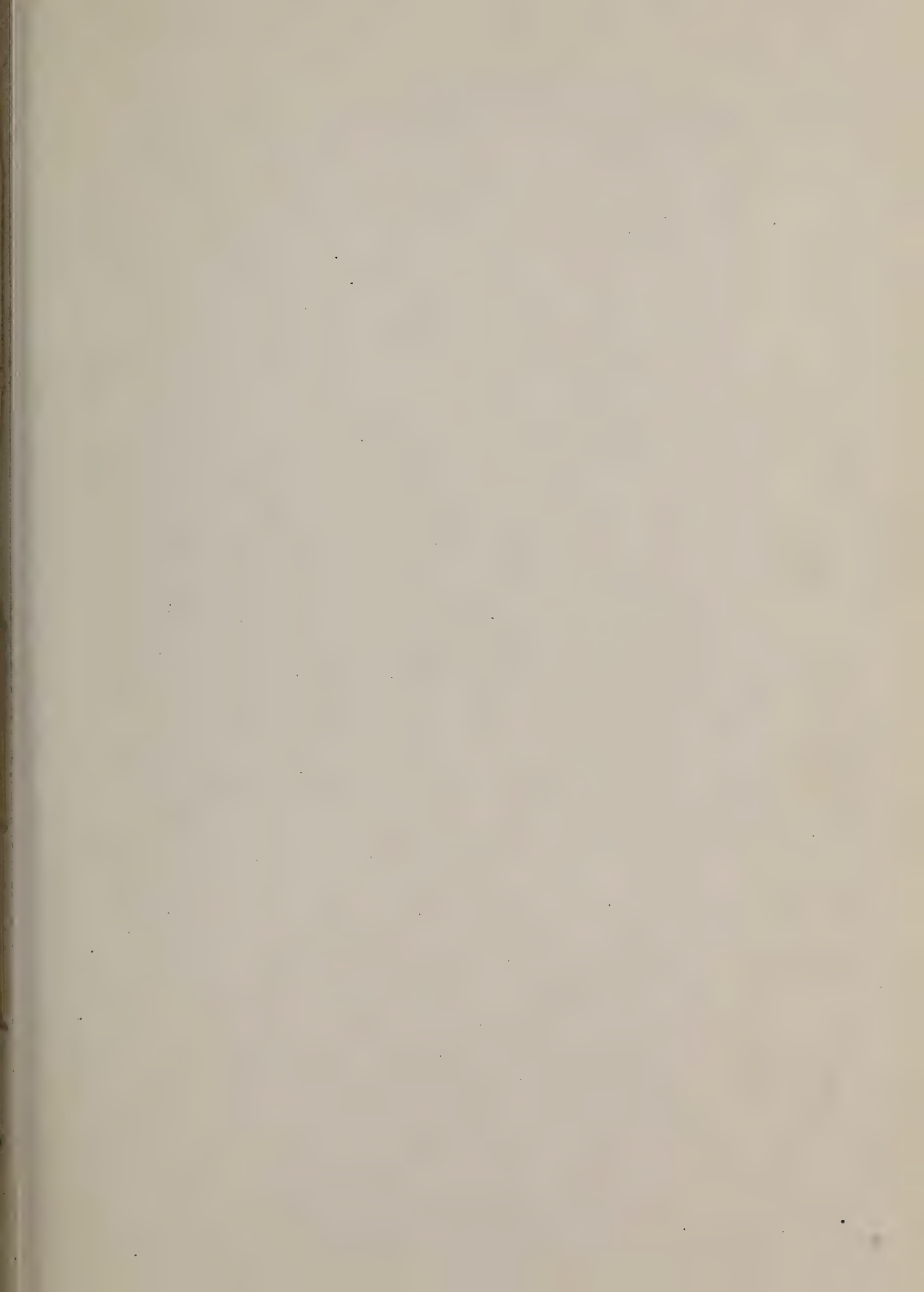
Trial between Mr. Dan Archdeacon and Francis Mowbray.

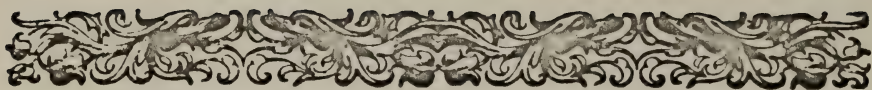
Harl. MS.
6495, No. 1

A Catalogue of such combats as have been anciently granted by the Kings of England.

Harl. MS.
7021,
No. 22.

(1) Printed in *Archaeologia*, XX, 510. See *Ibid.*, XIX, 127, as to the arrival of Geoffrey Plantagenet, PÈRE DANIEL, *Hist. de la Milice Française*, I, 280, citing the MS. of Le Moine de Mairemoutier.





Appendix VII.

Extract from the Stowe MS.

Henry.

By the King.

We woll and charge you that of our warre money beyng in your kepyng ye doo content and pay unto our subgiēt Thomas Bolton all thise p^celles folowyng. First Fourtene hostyng harnesse complete of milleyne making price of ev^y of theym six pounds st^ling. Itm' thre score brests and thre score backs of milleyne towche price of ev^y brest and bak, Ten shillings st^l. Itm' Fyfty & nyne brests, fyfty & nyne pairs of splents and fyfty & nyne sculls for souchyn's of milleyne towch price of ev^y brest splents and scull Six shyllings and eight pens. Some tot^l Oone hundreth thirty thre pounds thirteene shillings and foure pens st^l. The which p^cells the said Thomas Bolton delyv^d vnto o^r s^tu^{nt} John Blewbery yoman' of o^r armory to our vse at Saint Omers the Sixt day of Septembre last past. And theis o^r l^res shalbe yo^r sufficient warraunt in that behalf. Yoven vndir o^r signet at o^r mano^r of Grenewiche the Nyneth day of Marche the Fyfte yere of our Reigne.

Stowe MS.
146, fo. 100

Seal.

To our trusty & welbeloved
s^tu^{nt} S^r John Daunce Knyght.

Received by me Peter Corse m^cchaunt de florence for and in the Name of the forsaid Th. Bolton of S^r John Danne [*sic*] Knight upon this warraunt the iiijth day of June Anno xj^{te} R. H. viij one hunderth thirty thre pounds xiijs. iiijd. st^ling for the causes abovesaid.

p^r me Petr' Corse Mary Sp^a

[Docketted] A Warrant of Thom^{as} Bolton. ex^t p^r Calison.





Appendix VIII.

TRAICTIÉ DE LA FORME ET DEVIS D'UNG TOURNOY, par le ROI RENÉ.

A très hault et puissant prince, mon très chier, tres amé et seul frère germain Charles d'Anjou, Conte du Maine, de Mortaign et de Guyse : Je, RENÉ D'ANJOU vostre frère, vous foiz savoir que pour le plaisir que je congnois depiéça, que prénez à veoir hystoires nouvelles et dittiez nouveaulx, me suis advisé de vous faire ung petit traictié le plus aulong estendu que j'ay sceu, de la forme et devis comme il me sembleroit que ung Tournoy seroit à entreprendre à la Court ou ailleurs en quelque marche de France, quant aucuns princes le voudroient faire faire : laquelle forme j'ay prins au plus près et jouxte de celle qu'on garde és Almaignes et sur le Rin quant on fait les Tournoy. Et aussi selon la manière qu'ils tiennent en Flandres et en Brabant ; et mesmement sur les anciennes façons qu'ils les souloient aussi faire en France, comme j'ay trouvé par escriptures. Desquelles troys façons en ay prins ce qui m'a semblé bon, et en ay fait et compilé une quarte façon de faire, ainsi que pourrez veoir, s'il vous plaist, par ce que cy après s'ensuit.

*Icy après s'ensuit la forme et manière comment ung Tournoy doibt estre entrepris ;
et pour bien et honnorablement et à son droit doibt estre fait et acompli, y fault
garder l'ordre cy après declairée.*

ET PREMIÈREMENT.

Qui veult faire ung Tournoy, fault que ce soit quelque prince, ou du moins hault baron, ou banneret, lequel doibt faire ainsi que cy après sera devisé.

C'est assavoir :

Que ledit prince doibt premièrement envoyer secrètement devers le prince à qui il veult faire présenter l'espée, pour savoir se sest son entencion de la accepter, ou non, pour faire puis après publiquement les sérimonies qui y appartiennent, comme cy après s'ensuit, ou cas qui la vouldra accepter. C'est assavoir, que ledit prince voyant toute sa Baronnie, ou du moins grant quantité de chevaliers et escuiers, doibt appeller le Roy d'armes de la contrée, car à lui appartient devant tous autres roys d'armes ; et s'il n'y est, en son absence, quelque hérault notable. Et en lui baillant une espée rabatue de quoy on tournoye, lui doibt dire les parolles qui s'ensuivent.

Mais pour mieulx en faire entendre la façon, sera icy pris par similitude le Duc de Bretagne pour appellant de l'ung des coustés, et le Duc de Bourbon pour deffendant de

l'autre. Et pour tous blazons nécessaires pour ce présent Tournoy, ne me aideray que de blazons controuvez à plaisance. Ainsi doncques s'ensuivent les parolles que dira ledit seigneur Duc de Bretagne appellant, audit Roy d'armes en lui baillant une espée Tournoy telle que cy dessous est figurée :

“ Roy d'armes, tenez ceste espée et alez devers mon cousin le Duc de Bourbon lui dire de par moy, que pour sa vaillance, prudence, et grant chevalerie qui est en sa personne, je lui envoie ceste espée en signiffiance que je querelle de frapper ung Tournoy et Bouhordis d'armes contre lui, en la présence de dames et de damoiselles, et de tous autres, au jour nommé et temps deu, et en lieu ad ce faire ydoine et convenable. Duquel Tournoy lui offre pour juges diseurs, de huit chevaliers et escuiers les quatre : c'est assavoir tels et tels pour chevaliers, et tels et tels pour escuiers ; lesquels juges diseurs assigneront le temps et le lieu et seront faire ordonner la place.”

Icy après est pourtraictie la façon et manière comme le Duc de Bretagne appellant baille l'espée au Roy d'armes pour l'envoyer présenter au Duc de Bourbon deffendant.

Et fault noter que ledit seigneur appellant doit toujours eslire des juges la moitié : c'est assavoir, deux du pais du seigneur deffendant, et les autres deux de son pays ou d'ailleurs à son plaisir : et fait bien volentiers les juges des plus notables, honnorables et anciens Barons, Chevaliers et Escuiers qu'on puisse trouver, qui ont plus veu et voiaagé et qui sont repputez les plus saiges et mieulx se congnoissans en fait d'armes que d'autres.

Lors ledit Roy d'armes s'en yra devers ledit Duc de Bourbon deffendant, et en la plus grant compaignie et la plus honorable place, hors lieu saint, où il le pourra trouver, lui présentera l'espée, laquelle il tiendra par la poignée, lui disant ainsi :

“ Très hault et très puissant prince et très redoubté seigneur, très hault et très puissant prince et mon très redoubté seigneur le Duc de Bretagne, vostre cousin, m'envoie par devers vous pour la très grant chevalerie et los de prouesse qu'il scet estre en vostre très noble personne, lequel en toute amour et bënëvolence, et non pas par nul mal talent, vous requiert et querelle de frapper ung Tournoy et Bouhort d'armes devant dames et damoiselles ; pour laquelle chose et en signiffiance de ce vous envoie cette espée propre a ce faire.”

Icy après est pourtraictie la façon et la manière comment le Roy d'armes présente l'espée au Duc de Bourbon deffendant.

Et lors ledit Roy d'armes présentera audit Duc de Bourbon la dite espée et se il lui estoit survenu tel affaire où nécessité qu'il ne peust accomplir ledit Tournoy, ne y entendre, pour lors il pourra respondre en s'excusant en la manière qui s'ensuit :

“ Je remercie mon cousin de l'offre qu'il me fait : et quant aux grans biens qu'il cuide estre en moy, je vouldroye bien qu'il pleust à Dieu qu'ils fussent tels ; mais moult il s'en fault, dont il me poise.

“ D'autre part il y a en ce royaume tant d'autres seigneurs qui ont mieulx mérité cest honneur que moy, et bien le sauront faire ; pourquoy je vous prie que m'en vueillez excuser envers mondit cousin. Car j'ay des affaires à mener à fin, qui touchent fort mon honneur, lesquelles nécessairement devant toutes autres besoingnes il me faut accomplir. Si, lui plaise en ce avoir mon excuse pour agréable en lui offrant en autres choses tous les plaisirs que je lui pourroye faire.”

Item s'il accepte le Tournoy, il prend l'espée de la main du Roy d'armes en disant :

“ Je ne l'accepte pas pour nul mal talent, mais pour cuider à mon dit cousin faire plaisir, et aux dames esbatement.”

Et après qu'il aura prins l'espée, le Roy d'armes lui dira cestes parolles.

“ Très hault et très puissant prince et très redoubté seigneur, très hault et très puissant prince et mon très redoubté seigneur le Duc de Bretagne, vostre cousin, vous envoie icy les blazons de huit chevaliers et escuiers en ung roolle de parchemin, à celle fin que des huit en eslisez quatre de ceulx qui mieulx vous seront agréables pour juges diseurs.”

Cela dit au Duc par le Roy d'armes, il lui monstrera ledit roolle de parchemin, lequel il prandra, et regardera les blazons à son plaisir, puis respondra audit Roy d'armes :

“ Quant aux juges diseurs dont vous me monstrez icy les blazons, les seigneurs de tel lieu et de tel, me plaisent très bien pour chevalier, s'il leur plaist ; et les seigneurs de tel lieu et de tel aussi pour escuiers. Et pour ce vous leur porterez lettres de créance de ma part ; et aussi prierai à mon cousin le Duc de Bretagne qu'il leur vueille escrire de la sienne qu'ils soient contens de ce accepter, et que le plus tost qu'il leur sera possible me fassent savoir le jour dudit Tournoy, et le lieu aussi.”

Ycy après est pourtraictie la façon et la manière comment le Roy d'armes monstre audit duc de Bourbon les huit blazons des chevaliers et escuiers.

Nota que incontinent que ledit Duc de Bourbon aura esleu les quatre juges diseurs, que le Roy d'armes doit envoyer en toute diligence deux poursuivans, l'ung devers le seigneur appellant pour avoir ses lettres aux juges diseurs, s'il pense qu'ils doivent estre loing l'ung de l'autre, en leur suppliant par ses lettres qu'ils se vueillent tirer ensemble en aucune bonne ville telle qu'ils adviseront, ad ce que honnorablement il leur présente les lettres desdits seigneurs appellant et deffendant.

Cela dit, fera bailler le Duc de Bourbon au Roy d'armes, deux aulnes de drap d'or, ou de veloux veluté, ou satin figuré cramoisis du moins, sur lequel il fera mettre les deux seigneurs chiefs dudit Tournoy, faiz en peinture sur une grant peau de parchemin, à cheval ainsi comme ils seront oudit Tournoy, armoyez et timbrez ; et atachera ledit parchemin sur ladite pièce de drap d'or, de veloux ou satin. Et en tel estat la prendra le Roy d'armes la mettant en guise d'ung manteau noué sur la dextre espaulle, et avec le bon congié du Duc s'en ira devers les juges diseurs pour savoir s'ils voudront accepter l'office d'estre juges diseurs. Et quant il sera par devers ceulx, aiant lettres des deux Ducs appellant et deffendant, avecques ladite pièce de drap sur les espaulles, ainsi que dit est, et dessus icellui parchemin atachié où seront paints lesdits seigneurs à cheval, armoyez et timbrez, ainsi que cy après est pourtraict, leur présentera ses lettres ; c'est assavoir une de par l'appellant et l'autre de par le deffendant, lesquelles seront narratives des choses dessusdites, et aussi contiendront créance, c'est assavoir, qu'ils veillent estre juges diseurs dudit Tournoy par eux empris.

Ycy après est pourtraictie la façon et manière comment le Roy d'armes monstre aux quatre juges diseurs les seigneurs appellant et deffendant, et leur présente les lettres desdits seigneurs, aiant le drap d'or sur l'espaulle et le parchemin paint desdits deux chiefs.

Puis leur dira les parolles qui cy après s'ensuivent :

“ Nobles et doubtez chevaliers, honnorez et gentils escuiers, très hault et puissans princes les Ducs de Bretagne et de Bourbon, mes très redoubtez seigneurs, vous saluent, et m'ont chargé vous bailler cestes lettres de par eulx qui en partie sont de créance, laquelle vous saurez puis après que aurez leu lesdites lettres, et à tel heure qu'il vous plaira.”

Après qu'ils auront leu ou fait lire leurs lettres, et adonc qu'ils demanderont et requerront d'oïr la créance, ledit Roy d'armes la leur dira telle que s'ensuit :

“ Nobles et doubtez chevaliers, honnorez et gentils escuiers, je viens vers pour vous adviser, requérir et nottifier de par très haulx et très puissans princes et mes très redoubtez seigneurs les Ducs de Bretagne et de Bourbon, que sur le plaisir que leur desirez faire, vous vueillez prandre la charge de ordonner et estre juges diseurs d’ung très noble Tournoy et Bouhourdis d’armes qui nouvellement en ce royaume par eulx a esté empris. Lesquelz seigneurs, d’ung commun assentement, sur tous autres vous ont sur ce choisis et esleus pour la grant fame de prudence, renommée de sens et los de vertus qui de long temps continuent en vos nobles personnes. Si, ne vueillez de ce estre reffusans, car moult de bien s’en pourra ensuir.

“ *Et tout premièrement*, en pourra-on mieulx congnoistre lesquels sont d’ancienne noblesse venus et extraits, par le port de leurs armes et lévement de timbres.

“ *Secondement*, ceulx qui auront contre honneur failly, seront là chastiez tellement que une autrefois se garderont de faire chose qu’il soit mal séant à honneur.

“ *Tiercement*, chacun y aprendra de l’espée à frapper en soy habitant à l’exercice d’armes.

“ *Et quartement*, par aventure pourra-il advenir que tel jeune chevalier ou escuier, par bien y faire, y acquerra mercy, grace ou augmentation d’amour de sa très gente dame et cellée maistresse. Si, vous requiers encor de rechief de par mes dits très redoubtez seigneurs, mes nobles et doubtez chevaliers, honnorez et gentils escuiers, que de tant, de tels et si hauls biens vous vueillez estre principale occasion en telle manière que par votre sens, ordre et conduicte, la chose sorte à effet, et par façon que renommée et bruit par tout puisse aler de maintenir noblesse, et d’acroistre honneur, ad ce que, au plaisir Dieu, chacun gentilhomme doresnavant puisse estre desirieux de continuer plus souvant l’exercice d’armes.”

Lors lesdits juges diseurs s’ils veullent accepter l’offre, pourront respondre en la forme et manière qui s’ensuit.

“ Nous remercions très humblement nos très redoubtez seigneurs, de l’honneur qu’ils nous font, de l’amour qu’ils nous portent, et de la fiance qu’ils ont en nous : et combien qu’il ait en ce royaume assez d’autres chevaliers et escuiers qui, de trop mieulx que nous, sauroient deviser et mettre en ordre ung si noble fait comme est celui du Tournoy, néantmoins pour obéir à nosdits tres redoubtez seigneurs, nous offrons de bon cuer à les obeir et servir, en acceptant la charge que cy devant nous avez déclarée pour y faire à nos loyaux pouvoirs tout le bien que possible nous sera d’y faire en ce monde, en employant tout nostre entendement et la peine de nos corps si loyaument, que si par cas d’aventure de nostre cousté y avoit erreure, dont Dieu nous gart, ce sera plus par simplese que par vice, nous soubsmettant tousjours a la correction, bon plaisir et volenté de nosdits très redoubtez seigneurs.”

Lors le dit Roy d’armes doit remercier lesdits juges diseurs, et en après leur requérir que comme juges, il leur plaise lui ordonner le jour dudit Tournoy, et le lieu aussi, ad ce qu’il le puisse faire crier ainsi qu’il appartient. Et tous les juges diseurs doivent aler ensemble en conseil, pour adviser le jour et le lieu affin que ledit Roy d’armes aille commencer à crier ledit Tournoy és lieux où il appartient ; c’est assavoir :

Premièrement, à la court du seigneur appellant ; secondement, à la court du seigneur deffendant : et tiercement, à la court du Roy et ailleurs où il sera advisé par lesdits juges diseurs. Et se ledit Roy d’armes ne pouvoit ou vouloit aler en personne à la court des autres seigneurs, pour crier ledit Tournoy, il pourra envoyer à chascune court ung poursuivant pour le faire. Mais à la court desdit deux seigneurs chiefs du Tournoy, et aussi du Roy, fault que ledit Roy d’armes aille personnellement.

AINSI CY APRÈS S'ENSUIT LA FORME ET MANIÈRE COMMANT ON DOIBT
CRIER LEDIT TOURNOY.

Et tout premièrement, ledit Roy d'armes doibt estre acompaigné de troys ou quatre héraulx et poursuiuans, quant il criera ladite feste du Tournoy en la forme et manière que cy après est hystorié.

Icy après est pourtraicte la façon et manière comment le Roy d'armes aiant le drap d'or sur l'espaule et les deux chiefs pains sur le parchemin, et aux quatre coings les quatre escussons desdits juges pains, crie le Tournoy, et comment les poursuiuans baillent les escussons des armes desdits juges à tous ceulx qui en veullent prendre.

C'est assavoir que incontinent que les juges diseurs ont accepté la charge que le Roy d'armes fera paindre les quatre escus d'iceulx juges diseurs aux quatre cornières dudit parchemin ; c'est assavoir ceulx des deux chevaliers en hault, et ceux des deux escuiers en pié.

Et premièrement, l'ung des poursuiuans de la compagnie du Roy d'armes, qui plus haulte voix aura, doibt crier par troys haultes allénées et troys grandes reposées :

“OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ.

“On fait assavoir à tous princes, seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et escuiers de la marche de l'isle de France, de la marche de Champaigne, de la marche de Flandres, et de la marche de Ponthieu chief des poyers, de la marche de Vermandois et d'Artoys, de la marche de Normandie, de la marche d'Acquaine et d'Anjou, de la marche de Bretagne et Berry, et aussi de Corbye, et à tous autres de quelsconques marches qui soient de ce royaume et de tous autres royaumes chrestiens, s'ils ne sont bannis ou ennemys du Roy nostre sire, à qui Dieu donne bonne vie, que tel jour de tel moys, en tel lieu de telle place, sera ung grantdesime pardon d'armes, et très noble Tournoy frappé de masses de mesure, et espées rabatues, en harnoys propres pour ce faire, en timbres, cotes d'armes et housseures de cheualx armoyées des armes des nobles tournoyeurs, ainsi que de toute ancienneté est de coustume ;

“Duquel Tournoy sont chiefs très haults et très puissans princes et mes très redoubtez seigneurs le duc de Bretagne pour appellant et le duc de Bourbon pour deffendant ;

“Et pour ce fait-on de rechief assavoir à tous princes, seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et escuiers des marches dessus-dites, et autres de quelsconques nations qu'ils soient, non bannis ou ennemys du Roy, nostre dit seigneur, qui auront vouloir et désir de tournoyer pour acquérir honneur qu'ils portent des petis escussons que cy présentement donneray, ad ce qu'on congnoisse qu'ils sont des tournoyeurs. Et pour ce en demande qui en vouldra avoir ; lesquels escussons sont escarteletz des armes desdits quatre chevaliers et escuiers juges diseurs dudit Tournoy.

“Et audit Tournoy y aura de nobles et riches prix par les dames et damoiselles donnez.

“Oultre plus, je anonce à entre vous tous princes, seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et escuiers qui avez entencion de tournoyer, que vous estes tenus vous rendre és haberges le iiij^e jour davant le jour dudit Tournoy, pour faire de vos blazons fenestres, sur peine de non estre receus audit Tournoy ; et cecy vous fois-je assavoir de par messeigneurs les juges diseurs et me pardonnez s'il vous plaist.”

Icy après s'ensuit la façon et manière dont doivent estre les harnoyz de teste, de corps et de bras, timbres et lambequins que on appelle, en Flandres et en Brabant et en ses haults pays ou les tournoys se usent communément, hacheures ou hachemens, cottes d'armes, selles, houes et bousseures de chevaux, masses et espées pour tournoyer.

Et pour mieulx le vous déclarer, icy dessoubz sera figuré l'une pièce après l'autre ainsi qu'elles doyvent estre.

C'est assavoir, tout premièrement le timbre doit estre sur une pièce de cuir bouilly, laquelle doit estre bien faultrée d'ung doy d'espez, ou plus par le dedens ; et doit contenir ladite pièce de cuir tout le sommet du heaulme, et sera couverte ladite pièce du lambequin, armoyé des armes de celui qui le portera. Et sur ledit lambequin au plus hault du sommet sera assis ledit timbre, et autour d'icellui aura ung tortis des couleurs que voudra ledit tournoyeur, du gros du bras ou plus ou moins à son plaisir.

Item. Le heaulme est en façon d'ung bacinnet ou d'une cappeline, réservé que la visière est autrement, ainsi que cy dessoubz est paint. Et pour mieulx faire entendre la manière du timbre, du cuir bouilly et du heaulme, ils seront cy dessoubz pourtrais en troys façons.

Icy après s'ensuit la façon et manière du bacinnet du cuir bouilly et du timbre.

Item. Le harnoyz de corps est come une cuirasse ou comme ung harnoyz à pié qu'on appelle tonnellet. Et aussi peult-on bien tournoyer en brigandines qui vueult ; mais en quelque façon de harnoyz de corps que on vueille tournoyer, est de nécessité sur toute rieurs, que ledit harnoyz soit si large et si ample que on puisse vestir et mettre dessoubz ung porpoint ou courset ; et fault que le porpoint soit faultré de troys dois d'espez sur les espaulles, et au long des bras jusques au col, et sur le dos aussi, pourceque les coups des masses et des espées descendent plus volentiers es endrois dessus dis que en autres lieux. Et pour veoir la principale et meilleure façon pour tournoyer, sera figuré cy dessoubz une cuirasse pertuisée en le meilleure et plus propre façon et manière quelle peut pour ledit Tournoy.

Icy après est pourtraicte la manière et la façon de la cuirasse et la forme des armeures de bras propres pour tournoyer.

C'est assavoir, gardebras, avantbras et gantelez ; lesquels avantbras et gardebras fait en volentés tenans ensemble, et y en a de deux façons ; dont les ungs sont de harnoyz blanc et les autres de cuir bouilly, lesquelles deux façons tant de harnoyz blanc que aussi de cuir bouilly sont peintes dessoubz.

Icy après s'ensuit la forme et manière des gardebras et avantbras tant de harnoyz blanc que de cuir bouilly.

La forme et façon des gantelez est telle que on peult veoir cy dessoubz en figure.

Icy après est pourtraicte la façon et la manière des gantelez.

Item. L'espée rabatue doit estre en la forme et manière cy après painte, et semblablement la masse.

Icy après est pourtraicte la façon et la manière de l'espée et de la masse.

De la mesure et façon des espées et des masses, n'y a pas trop à dire fors que de la largeur et longueur de la lumelle ; car elle doit estre large de quatre doigts, à ce qu'elle ne puisse passer par la veue du heaulme, et doit avoir les deux tranchans larges d'un doy d'espez. Et affin qu'elle ne soit pas trop pesante, elle doit estre fort vidée par le meilleu

et mosse devant et toute d'une venue se bien pou non depuis la croisée jusques au bout, et doibt estre la croisée si courte qu'elle puisse seulement garentir ung coup qui, par cas d'aventure descendroit ou viendroit glissant le long de l'espee jusques sur les doiz, et toute doibt estre aussi longue que le bras avec la main de celluy qui la porte, et la masse par semblable. Et doibt avoir ladite masse une petite rondelle bien clouée devant la main pour icelle garentir. Et peult-on, qui vult, atacher son espee ou sa masse à une déliée chaesne. tresse ou cordon autour du bras, ou à sa sainture, à ce que se elles eschappoient de la main on les peust recouvrer sans cheoir à terre.

Au regard de la façon des pommeaulx des espées, cela est à plaisir; et la grosseur des masses, et la pesanteur des espées doyvent estre revisitées par les juges la vigille du jour du Tournoy, lesquelles masses doivent estre signées d'ung fer chault par lesdicts juges, à ce qu'elles ne soient point d'oultrageuse pesanteur ne longueur aussi.

Le *harnoy de jambes* est ainsi et de semblable façon comme on le porte en la guerre, sans autre différançe, fors que les plus petites gardes sont les meilleures, et les *sollerez* y sont très bons contre la pointe des esperons.

Les plus cours *esperons* sont plus convenables que les longs, à ce que on ne les puisse arracher ou destordre hors les pieds en la presse.

La *cotte d'armes* doibt estre faicte ne plus ne moins comme celle d'ung hérault, réservé qu'elle doibt estre sans ploicte par le corps, affin que on congnoisse miculx de quoy sont les armes.

En Brabant, Flandres et Haynault, et en ces pays-là vers les Almaignes, ont acoustumé d'eulx armer de la personne autrement au Tournoy; car ils prennent ung demy pourpoint de deux toilles, sans plus, du faulx du corps en bas, et l'autre sur le ventre; et puis sur cela mettent unes bracières, grosses de quatre doiz d'espez et remplies de cotton; sur quoy ils arment les avantbras et les gardebras de cuir bouilly, sur lequel cuir bouilly y a de menuz bastons cinq ou six, de la grosseur d'ung doiz, et collez dessus, qui vont tout au long du bras jusques aux jointes. Et quant pour l'espaule et pour le coulede, sont fais les gardebras et avantbras de cuir bouilly comme cy devant est devisé, fors qu'ils sont de plus lorde et grosse façon; et sont dedans bien faultrez, et de l'un en l'autre est une toille double cousue que les tient ensemble comme une manche de mailles: Puis ont une bien légère brigantine dont la poitrine est pertuisée comme cy dessus est devisé. Et quant à leurs armeures de teste, ont ung grant bacinet a camail sans visière lequel ils attachent par le camail dessus la brigandine tout autour, à la poitrine, et sur les espauls à fortes aguillettes; et pardessus tout cela mettent ung grant heaulme fait d'une venue, lequel heaulme est volentiers de cuir bouilly et pertuisé dessus, à la largeur d'ung tranchoires de bois, et la veue en est barrée de fer de trois doiz en troys doiz, lequel est seulement atachié devant à une chaesne qui tient à la poitrine de la brigandine, en façon que on le peult gester sur l'arczon de la selle pour soy refrécher, et le reprendre quant on vult. Et pendant que on a ledit heaulme hors de la teste, nul ne ose frapper jusques ad ce que on l'ait remis en la teste; sur lequel heaulme on mett le lambequin des armes, la rorte ou tortois de la devise, et le timbre des armes du tournoyeur, atachié à aguillettes comme d'avant est devisé. Et sur la brigandine mettent la cote d'armes. Et quant tout cela est sur l'ome, il semble estre plus gros que long, pourquoy me passe de plus avant en parler. Et au regard de leurs selles, elles sont de la haulteur dont on les souloit porter à la jouxte en France anciennement, et les pissières et le chanfrain de cuir aussi; et même d'eulx a len veu en cest habilleement, lesquels quant ilz estoient à cheval, ne se pouvoient aider ne tourner leurs chevaux, tellement estoient goins. Et pour revenir à la vraye et

plus gente façon, la manière d'armer les personnes, ainsi que dessus est touchié, est d'assez plus belle et plus seure ; et les selles de guerre aussi sont bonnes pour tournoyer, quant elles sont bien fort closes derrière, et veullent pas estre trop haultes d'arczon davant.

Et au regard de leurs masses, espées et harnoys de jambes, elles sont semblables de celles dont devant est divisé.

Oultre plus, y est très nécessaire une façon de hourt que on atache davant à l'arczon de la selle, tant hault que bas, en plusieurs lieux le mieulx que on peult et le plus seurement ; et descend le long des aulnes de la selle davant, en embrassant la poictrine du cheval, lequel hourt est bon pour garentir le cheval ou destrier d'espauler contre le hurt quant on vient de choc, et préserve aussi la jambe du tournoyeur de toutes estorses.

Ce hourt est fait de paille longue entre toilles fort porpoinetées de cordes de fouet, et dedans ledit hort y ung sac plain de paille, en façon d'ung croissant, atachié au dit hourt, qui reppose sur la poictrine du cheval, et relieve ledit hourt, ad ce qu'il ne hurte contre les jambes du cheval. Et en oultre ledit pourpointement, y a, qui vieult, bastons cousus dedens qui le tiennent roide sans gaindhir. Et est la façon dudit hourt cy dessoubz pourtraicte tant à l'envers que à l'endroit affin que on voye l'une et l'autre, et comme on mett ledit sac dedens ledit hourt. La façon duquel sac est ainsi :

Icy après est pourtraicte la façon et la manière du sac pour mettre dedans le hourt.

Icy est pourtraicte l'istoire du hort à l'envers.

Le hourt à l'envers est tel que cy davant est semblablement pourtrait.

Icy est pourtraicte l'istoire du hourt a l'endroit.

Item, on couvre le dit hort d'une couverture armoyée des armes du Seigneur qui le porte et faictes de baterie comme cy après est hystorié.

Icy après est pourtraicte l'istoire de la couverture du hourt.

Icy après s'ensuit comant les deux ductz de Bretagne et de Bourbon sont à cheval armoyez et timbrez ainsi qui seront au Tournoy.

Les lices doyvent estre ung quart plus longues que larges, et de la haulteur d'ung homme, ou d'une brace et demye, de fort merrain et pou carré à deux travers, l'ung hault et l'autre bas jusques au genoil ; et doyvent estre doubles : c'est assavoir unes autres lices par dehors à quatre pas près des autres premières lices, pour refréehir les serviteurs à pié, et eulx salver hors de la presse ; et là dedans se doyvent tenir gens armez et non armez commis de par les juges pour garder les tournoyans de la foule du peuple. Et quant à la grandeur de la place des lices, il les fault faire grandes ou petites selon la quantité des tournoyeurs, et par l'advis des juges.

Icy après est pourtraicte l'istoire de la façon des lices et des chauxaux.

Etpource qu'il me semble que désormais les harnoys et les habillemens pour tournoyer sont assez souffisamment déclairez, par raison je retourne à diviser et déclarier les façons, statuz et sérimonies qu'il appartient à garder pour bien et honnorablement faire et acomplir ledit Tournoy.

Et pour commencer, vous avez oy cy devant par le cry du Roy d'armes, commant il fait assavoir à tous ceulx qui doyevent estre dudit Tournoy, qu'il n'y ait faulte, commant que ce soit, qu'ils ne soient, le jeudy iiij^e jour davant le jour du Tournoy, davant l'eure de tierce, rendus à leurs haberges sur peine de non estre receuz audit Tournoy, pour

faire de leurs blazons fenestres. Et est doncques nécessaire de savoir l'ordonnance et manière commant les tournoyeurs doyevent entrer en la ville où se doibt faire ledit Tournoy.

Et premièrement, les princes, seigneurs, ou barons qui voudront desployer leur bannière au Tournoy, doyyent mettre peine d'estre acompaignez, principalement a l'entrée qu'ils feront en la ville, de la plus grant quantité de chevaliers et escuiers tournoyans qu'ils pourront finer ; et en telle façon doivent faire leur entrée comme cy après s'ensuit.

C'est assavoir que le destrier du prince, seigneur ou baron chief des autres chevaliers et escuiers qui l'accompaignent, doibt estre le premier entrant dedans la ville en couverte de la devise du Seigneur, et quatre escussons de ses armes aux quatre membres dudit cheval, et la teste enplumée de plumes d'Autruche, et au col le colier de clochetes, ung bien petit page tout adoz ou selle, comme mieulx luy plaira. Et après ledit destrier, doivent pareillement entrer les destriers des autres chevaliers et escuiers tournoyans de sa compaignie, deux à deux, ou chacun par soy à leur plaisir, aians touteffois leurs armes ès quatre membres, ainsi que dit est davant. Et après lesdits destriers doivent aler les trompettes et ménestrels, courrans et sonnans, ou autres instrumens tels qu'il leur plaira ; et puis après, leurs héraulx ou poursuivans ains leurs cottes d'armes vestues ; et après eulx, lesdits chevaliers et escuiers tournoyans avec leur suite de tous autres gens.

Icy commance l'istoire de l'antrée d'ung des seigneurs chiefs au lieu du Tournoy, pour ce qu'il souffira pour tous deux.

Item, incontinent que ung seigneur ou baron est arrivé ou habergement, il doit faire de son blazon fenestre en la manière qui sensuit : c'est assavoir faire mettre par les héraulx et poursuivans davant son logeis, une longue planche atachée contre le mur, sur quoy sont pains les blazons de lui ; c'est assavoir, timbre et escu, et de trestous ceulx de sa compaignie qui veullent tournoyer, tant chevaliers que escuiers. Et à la fenestre haute de sondit logeis, fera mettre sa bannière desployée, pendant sur la rue ; et pour ce faire lesdits héraulx et poursuivans doyevent avoir quatre sols parisis pour atachier chacun blazon, et chacune bannière, et y sont tenus de fournir de clouz et de cordes pour clouer et desclouer et relever bannières, pannons et blazons touteffois qu'il on est beisoing. Et est à noter que les chiefs dudit Tournoy font pareillement devant leurs hostels comme les autres seigneurs et barons : et n'y a différence nulle, fors que aux fenestres de leursdits hostels mettent leurs pannons desployez avecques lesdites bannières : et lesdits barons qui feront de leurs bannières fenestres sont tenus pour leur honneur de faire clouer cinq blazons du moins avec leur bannière pour la compaigner.

Icy après s'ensuit l'istoire commant les seigneurs chiefs font de leurs blazons fenestres.

Icy après s'ensuit la forme et manière commant les juges discours doivent faire leur entrée en la ville, au jour que les seigneurs et autres tournoyans la font ; néantmoins que les juges diseurs doivent mettre peine d'entrer les premiers, s'il se peult faire.

Et premièrement.

Lesdits juges diseurs doivent avoir davant eulx quatre trompettes sonnans portant chacun d'eulx la bannière de l'un desdits juges diseurs : et après lesdites quatre trompettes, quatre poursuivans portant chacun une cote d'armes de l'un desdits juges, armoyez semblablement comme les trompettes. Et après lesdits quatre poursuivans, doit aler seul

le Roy d'armes qui aura crié ledit Tournoy, aiant sur sa cotte d'armes la pièce de drap d'or, veloux ou satin figuré cramoisy, et dessus icelle, le parchemin des blazons comme devant est devisé.

Et après ledit Roy d'armes doivent aler per à per les deux chevaliers juges diseurs, sur beaulx palefrois, couvers chacun de ses armes jusques en terre ; et doivent estre vestus de longues robbes, les plus riches qu'ils pourront finer ; et les deux escuiers après eulx pareillement. Et doibt avoir chacun des juges ung homme à pié, aiant la main à la bride du destrier ; aussi doivent avoir lesdits juges, chacun une verge blanche en la main, de la longueur d'eulx, qu'ils porteront droite amont, laquelle verge ils doivent porter à pied et à cheval, par tout où ils seront, durant la feste, affin que mieulx on les congnoisse estre juges diseurs. Et après eulx le plus de gens d'estat qu'ils pourront.

CY APRÈS S'ENSUIT L'ISTOIRE DE L'ENTRÉE DES JUGES.

Et est à noter que le seigneur appellant et le seigneur deffendant sont tenus d'envoyer devers les juges diseurs, incontinent que iceulx juges seront arrivez, chacun l'ung de ses maistres d'ostel avec ung de leurs gens de finances, lesquels auront les diligences de faire faire et paier ce que sera advisé estre nécessaire par lesdits juges, ainsi que plus à plain sera après divisé.

Lesdits juges diseurs doyvent tenir leur estat ensemble pendant ladite feste et se nullement leur est possible eulx loger en lieu de religion où il y ait cloistre, pour ce qu'il n'y a lieu si convenable pour asseoir de rang les timbres des tournoyans, comme en cloistre, affin que au lendemain du jour que les tournoyans et eulx seront arrivez aux haberges, chacun desdits tournoyeurs y face apporter son timbre et les bannières aussi, pour illec estre revisitées et monstrées aux dames, et depparties par lesdits juges, tant d'ung cousté que d'autre. Et doivent lesdits juges diseurs devant leur haberge faire mettre une toille à la haulteur de troys brasses et de deux de large, où soient pourtraictes les bannières desdits quatre juges diseurs, que le Roy d'armes qui aura crié la feste embrasse, et dessus au chief de ladite toille, seront mis en escript les deux noms des deux chiefs du Tournoy, c'est assavoir, celui qui est appellant, et celluy qui est deffendant : et en pied, plus bas desdites quatre bannières, seront mis par escript les noms, surnoms, seigneuries, tiltres et offices desdits quatre juges diseurs.

Icy est pourtraicte l'istoire d'ung hérault qui embrace les quatre bannières des quatre juges diseurs.

Au soir du jour de la venue des seigneurs, chevaliers et escuiers tournoyans, et des juges diseurs aussi, toutes les dames et damoiselles qui seront venues pour veoir la feste, se assembleront en une grant salle après le soupper, et illec viendront lesdits juges diseurs aiant leurs verges blanches avecques leurs trompettes sonnans, et les poursuyvans devant eulx et le Roy d'armes iaussi en tel ordre et triumphe comme ils seront entrez dedans la ville, fors qu'ils seront à pied. En laquelle sale ils trouveront leur lieu paré et là se mettront. Tous autres chevaliers et escuiers semblablement se rendront a celle heure en ladite salle. Et lors, par l'ordonnance des juges diseurs se commenceront les dances, et après ce que on aura dancé quelque demye heure, les juges diseurs feront monter leurs poursuyvans et le Roy d'armes sur le chauffault où les menestrels cornent, pour faire ung cry en la forme et manière que cy après s'ensuit.

C'est assavoir, que l'ung des poursuivans, qui plus haulte voix aura, criera par troys grandes allénées, et trois longues repossées :

“OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ.”

Et puis après ledit Roy d'armes dira en ceste manière :

“Très hault et puissans princes, ducs, comtes, barons, seigneurs, chevaliers et escuiers aux armes appartenans : je vous nottifie de par messeigneurs les juges diseurs, que chacun de vous doyve demain à heure de medy, faire apporter son heaulme timbré, ou quel il doibt tourner, et ses bannières aussi, en l'ostel de messeigneurs les juges, ad ce que mesdits seigneurs les juges, à une heure après medy, puissent commancer à en faire le despartement : et après ce qu'ils seront despartiz, les dames les viendront veoir et visiter pour en dire puis leurs bons plaisirs aux juges.

“Et pour le jour de demain, autre chose ne se fera se non les dances après le soupper ainsi comme aujourd'hui.”

Lequel cry ainsi fait et acomply, se recommenceront les dances, tant et longuement que sera le plaisir des juges ; puis feront apporter vin et espices, et ainsi se despartira la feste pour ce premier jour.

Au lendemain, à l'heure davant dicté, se porteront les bannières, pannons et timbres desditz chiefz, ou cloistre dessusdit, pour les présenter aux juges : et conséquemment toutes autres bannières, et heaulmes tymbrez, comme davant est dit, en l'ordonnance et manière qui s'ensuit.

Et premièrement, les bannières de tous princes se doivent apporter par ung de leurs chambellans chevaliers, et les pannons desditz chiefz se doyevent apporter par leurs premiers valez ou escuiers trenchans.

Et les bannières des autres bannerez, par leurs gentils hommes, ainsi qu'il leur plaira.

Les heaulmes des princes se doyevent apporter par leurs escuiers d'escuierie.

Et les heaulmes des autres bannerez, chevaliers et escuiers, par aucuns gentils hommes ou honnestes valez.

Icy dessous est pourtraicte l'histoire comment ils portent bannières et timbres de l'appellant ou cloistre, pour les arrenger et faire le despartement.

Item, et quant tous les heaulmes seront ainsi mis et ordonnez pour les despartir, viendront toutes dames et damoiselles, et tous seigneurs, chevaliers et escuiers, en les visitant d'ung bout à autre, là présens les juges qui maineront troys ou quatre tours les dames, pour bien veoir et visiter les timbres : et y aura ung hérault ou poursuivant, qui dira aux dames, selon l'endroit où elles seront le nom de ceulx à qui sont les timbres, ad ce que s'il y en a nul qui ait des dames mesdit, et elles touchent son timbre, qu'il soit le lendemain pour recommandé. Toutefois nul ne doibt estre batu oudit Tournoy, se non par l'advis et ordonnance des juges, et le cas bien desbatu et atteint au vray, estre trouvé tel qu'il mérite pugnicion : et lors en ce cas doibt estre si bien batu le mesdisant, que ses espaules s'en sentent très bien, et par manière que une autrefois ne parle ou mesdie ainsi deshonnestement des dames, comme il a acoustumé.

En oultre la recommandacion des dames, y a autres certains cas plus griefs et plus deshonnestes que de mesdire d'elles, pour lesquels cas le pugnicion qui cy après s'ensuit. est due a ceulx qui les ont commis.

Le premier cas et le plus pesant si est quant ung gentil homme est trouvé vrayement évidemment faulx et mauvais menteur de promesse, espécialement faicte en cas d'onneur.

Le second autre cas est d'ung gentil home qui est usurier publique, et preste à interestz magnifestement.

Le iij^e cas est d'ung gentil home qui se rabaisse par mariage, et se marie à femme roturière et non noble.

Desquels troys cas, les deux premiers et principaulx ne sont point remissibles, aincoys leur doit-on garder au Tournoy toute rigueur de justice, se ils sont si foux et si outrecuidez d'eulx y trouver, après ce que on le leur aura notifié, et bouté leur heaulme à terre.

Nota. Que s'il vient aucun au Tournoy, qui ne soit point gentil homme de toutes ses lignes, et que de sa personne il soit vertueux, il ne sera point batu de nul pour la première fois, fors scullement des princes et grans seigneurs, lesquels, sans mal lui faire, se joueront à lui de leurs espées et masses, comme s'ils le voulsissent battre, et ce lui sera à tousioursmais attribué à ung grant honneur à luy fait par lesdits princes et grans seigneurs. Et sera signe que par sa grant bonte et vertu, il mérite doresenavant estre du Tournoy, sans ce que en lui puisse jamais en riens reprouver son lignaige en lieu d'honneur où il se trouve, tant oudit Tournoy que ailleurs; et là aussi pourra porter timbre nouvel, ou adjouster à ses armes comme il voudra, pour le maintenir ou temps advenir pour lui et ses hoirs.

Laquelle pugnicion pour les deux cas plus griefs et principaulx dessus ditz, est telle que cy après s'ensuit.

C'est assavoir, que tous autres seigneurs, chevaliers et escuiers du Tournoy qui le tiennent, en tournoyant se doivent arrester sur lui, et tant le battre qu'ils lui facent dire qu'il donne son cheval, qui vault autant à dire en substance comme: je me rens. Et lorsqu'il aura donné son cheval, les autres tournoyeurs doivent faire couper les sangles de la selle par leurs gens tant à pied que à cheval, et faire porter le mal-faiteur à tout sa selle et le mettre à cheval sur les barres des lices, et là le faire garder en cest estat, tellement qu'il ne se puisse descendre, ne couler à bas jusques à la fin du Tournoy; et doibt estre donné son cheval aux trompettes et menestrels.

La pugnicion de l'autre troisieme cas, est que ceulx qui en sont convaincus doyvent estre bien batus, et tellement qu'ils doyvent donner leurs chevaux comme l'autre dessus-dit. Mais on ne leur doibt point couper les sangles, ne les mettre à cheval sur les barres des lices, comme pour les autres deux premiers cas; aincois leur doibt-on oster les resnes de la bride de leurs chevaux hors des mains et hors du col du cheval, et gecter leurs masses et espées à terre; puis doivent estre baillez par la bride à ung hérault ou poursuivant, pour les mener à ung des corniers des lices, et illec les garder jusques à la fin du Tournoy comme prisonniers. Et s'ils s'en vouloient fouir ou eschapper hors des mains des héraulx ou poursuivans, après ce qu'ils y ont ainsi esté donnez, on les doibt battre de rechief et leur couper les sangles, les mettant à cheval sur la lice, come devant est dit des premiers pour rengrege de pugnicion.

Le iiij^e cas est d'ung gentil home qui dit parolles de dames ou de damoiselles en chargeant leur honneur, sans cause ou raison à part. Et pour pugnicion d'icellui, il doibt estre batu des autres chevaliers et escuiers tournoyans, tant et si longuement qu'il crie mercy aux dames à haulte voix, tellement que chascun l'oye, en promettant que jamais ne lui advindra d'en mesdire ou villainement parler.

Et pour revenir à nostre matière, quant le despartement et devis des heaulmes et bannières sera fait par les juges diseurs, chascun des serveiteurs qui aura portez lesditz heaulmes et bannières oudit hostel, par la licence des juges les rapportera chies son maistre et seigneur, en tel ordre et triumphe qu'il les aura là portez, ou autrement à son plaisir. Et pour ce jour ne se fait autre chose, fors que après soupper, seront les dances comme le

soir précédent, ausquelles tous chevaliers et escuiers se rendront. Et après la première ou la seconde dance sera fait ung cry par les poursuivans et Roy d'armes et par le commandement des juges, comme avant est déclaré, en la forme qui s'ensuit :

“Hault et puissans princes, contes, barons, chevaliers et escuiers, qui au jourd'hui avez envoyé présenter à messeigneurs les juges et aux dames aussi, vous timbres et bannières, lesquelz ont esté partis, tant d'ung cousté que d'autre par esgale porcion, soubz les bannières et pannons de très hault et très puissant prince et mon très redoubté seigneur le Duc de Bretaigne appellant et mon très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le Duc de Bourbon deffendant : messeigneurs les juges diseurs font assavoir que demain à une heure après medi, le seigneur appellant, avec son pannon seulement, viengne faire sa monstre sur les ranges, accompagné de tous les autres chevaliers et escuiers qui soubz lui ont esté partis, sur leurs destriers encouvertes et armoyez de leurs armes, et leurs corps sans armeures habillez le mieulx et le plus jolierement qu'ils pourront, ad ce que mesditz seigneurs les juges diseurs prennent la foy desditz tournoyers. Et après ça que ledit seigneur appellant aura ainsi fait sa monstre, la foy prise, et qu'il sera retourné de dessus les renga viengne à deux heures le seigneur deffendant faire la sienne, pour pareillement prendre sa foy, et qu'il n'y ait faulte.”

Icy après s'ensuyt la forme et manière comant le seigneur appellant viendra le lendemain jurer et faire sa monstre sur les renga.

Et est assavoir, que à l'eure qu'il y devra venir après le disner, les héraulx et poursuivans, vestus de leurs cottes d'armes, iront criant aval la ville davant les haberges des tournoyers : “Aux honneurs seigneurs chevaliers et escuiers ! aux honneurs ! aux honneurs !” Et lors chacun tournoyer monte sur son cheval armoyé de ses armes et gentement habillé, sans harnois, ung tronson de lance ou baston en sa main, aiant le banneret avec lui, celui qui portera sa bannière qu'il fera porter rollée sans estre desployée ses varlez à pied et à cheval, pareillement sans armes, lesquelz lui tiendront compaignie jusques à l'ostel de leur chief, ou il viendra pour accompagner son pannon sur les renga, et delà aussi sur les lices. Et semblablement le fera le deffendant avec ses barons et autres de sa conduicte, après la retraite de l'appellant.

HISTOIRE DE LA FAÇON DE LA VENUE DU SEIGNEUR APPELLANT ET DU SEIGNEUR DEFFENDANT, POUR VENIR SUR LES RENGs POUR FAIRE LES SEREMENS, ETC.

La façon de la promesse que lesdits seigneurs juges diseurs doivent faire faire aux princes, seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et escuiers tournoyers, est telle comme cy après s'ensuit : et dira le hérault des juges aux tournoyers :

“Haultz et puissans princes, seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et escuiers, se vous plaist vous tous et chacun de vous levez la main dextre en hault vers les Saints, et tous ensemble, aincois que plus avant aler, prometterez et jurez par la foy et serment de vos corps, et sur vostre honneur, que nul d'entre vous ne frappera autre audit Tournoy à son escient d'estoc, ne aussi depuis la sainture en aval, en quelque façon que ce soit ne aussi ne bouterà, ne tirera nul s'il n'est recommandé : et d'autre part se par cas d'aventure le heaulme cheoit de la teste à aucun, autre ne luy touchera jusques à tant qu'il luy aura esté remis et lacé, en vous soubmettant se autrement le faistes à vostre escient, de perdre armeures et destriers, et estre criez bannis du Tournoy pour une autre fois ; de tenir aussi le dit et ordonnance en tout et par tout tels comme messeigneurs les juges diseurs ordonneront les delinquans estre pugniz sans contredit : et ainsi vous le jurez et

promettez par la foy et serment de vos corps et sur vostre honneur." A quoy ils responderont. Oy, Oy. Cela fait, entrera le deffendant dedans les lices pour faire ses monstres, en la forme et manière que cy devant est devisée.

Pour ce jour là ne se fera aultre chose, senon après le soupper les dances comme le jour précédent ; et lors qu'ils auront ung petit dancé, le Roy d'armes montera ou chaufaut des menestrelz, puis fera crier par ung des poursuiuans :

Puis dira :

"OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ."

"Haulx et puissans princes, contes, seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et escuiers qui estes au Tournoy partis : je vous fois assavoir de par messeigneurs les juges diseurs que chascune partie de vous soit demain dedans les rens à l'heure de medy en armes et prests pour tournoyer, car à une heure après medy feront les juges couper les cordes pour encomencer le Tournoy, ouquel aura de riches et nobles dons par les dames donnez.

"Oltre plus, je vous advise que nul d'entre vous ne doye amener dedans les rens varlez à cheval pour vous servir, outre la quantité : c'est assavoir quatre varlez pour princes, troys pour conte, deux pour chevalier, et ung pour escuier, et de varlez à pied chascun à son plaisir ; car ainsi l'ont ordonné les juges."

Cela fait, les juges viendront devers les dames, et d'elles esliront deux des plus belles, et des plus grandes maisons, lesquelles ils menneront avec torches, heraulx et poursuiuans, derrière desquels juges l'ung tiendra ung long couvre-chief de plaisance, brodé, garni et papilloté d'or bien joliment. Et ainsi feront tournoyer les dames au tour de la sale, les tenans par soubz les bras, tant et si longuement qu'elles trouveront ung chevalier ou escuier desdiz tournoyeurs, que les juges auront advisé par avant, pour lui faire sur tous autres honneur, davant lequel les dames et juges s'arrestent ensemble. Et lors ledit Roy d'armes dira au chevalier ou escuier les parolles qui s'ensuivent :

"Très noble et doubté chevalier (ou très noble et gentil escuier) comme ainsi soit que Dames et Damoiselles ont tousjours de coustume d'avoir le cuer piteux ; celles qui en ceste compaignie sont assemblées pour veoir le noble Tournoy qui demain se doit frapper, doubtans que en chastiant aucun gentil homme qui par cas de simplese pourroit avoir mespris, la rigueur de justice ne lui deust estre trop grieve et insupportable, et ne vouldroient nullement davant leurs yeulx veoir battre trop rigoreusement nul qu'il soit, sans ce qu'elles ne le peussent aider, ont très instamment prié et requis à messeigneurs les juges diseurs, que l'ung des plus notables, saiges, et en tout bien renommé chevalier ou escuier, et auquel, sur tous autres, de tous ceulx de ceste assemblée, mieulx honneur seroit deu, demain de par elles ou dit Tournoy deust porter au bout d'une lance ce présent couvre-chief ad ce que quant il y aura aucun trop grievelement batu, et qu'il abesseroit le couvre-chief sur le timbre de celui que on batroit, tous ceulx qui le batroient le deussent à coup laisser sans plus le oser toucher : car de ceste heure en avant, pour ce jour là, les dames le prennent en leur protection et sauve garde. Si, vous ont sur tous autres dudit Tournoy lesdites dames choisy pour estre leur chevalier (ou escuier) d'honneur, en prenant ceste charge, de laquelle elles vous prient et riquierent que ainsi le vueillez faire et semblablement font messeigneurs les juges qui cy sont."

Lors lui bailleront les dames le couvre-chief, en le priant que ainsi le vueillent faire ; et après, ledit chevalier (ou escuier) les baisera, puis pourra respondre en la forme et manière que cy après s'ensuit :

"Je remercie très humblement mes dames et damoiselles de l'honneur qu'il leur plaist me faire : et combien qu'elles eussent bien trouvé autres qui mieulx l'eussent sceu faire,

et qui méritent cest honneur mieulx que moy néantmoins pour obéir aux dames, très voulentiers en feray mon loyal devoir en leur suppliant qu'elles me vueillent tousjours pardonner mon ignorance."

Lors les héraulx et poursuivans lieront ledit couvre-chief au bout d'une lance, laquelle ils dresseront à mont, et après ung poursuivant la tiendra droite devant ledit chevalier ou escuier d'honneur depuis ceste heure-là en avant, qui sera pour tout le soir droit ou assis, de cousté la plus grant dame qui soit en la feste.

Et alors qu'ils sera ou lieu ou seront lesdites dames, le Roy d'armes doibt faire faire par ung poursuivant, le cry que cy après s'ensuit :

"OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ."

Puis dira le Roy d'armes :

"On fait assavoir à tous princes, seigneurs, barons, chevaliers et escuiers que le plaisir des dames a esté d'eslire pour chevalier (ou escuier) d'honneur, tel N. pour les grans biens, honneur, vaillance et gentillesse qui sont en sa personne. Si, vous fois commandement de par messeigneurs les juges discurs, et les dames aussi, que demain ou vous verrez ledit chevalier (ou escuier) abesser ledit couvre-chief de plaisance sur quelcun d'entre vous que on batroit pour ses démerités, nul se soit plus si osé de le frapper ne touchier ; car de celle heure en avant les dames le prennent en leur deffence et mercy, et se appelle ledit couvre-chief La mercy des dames."

Et cela fait, les dames recommenceront les dances, et dureront tant et si longuement qu'il plaira aux juges, et puis feront venir vin et espices, comme les jours précédens.

Icy après s'ensuit la forme et manière comment le chevalier (ou escuier) d'honneur doibt entrer le lendemain sur les reings avec le couvre-chief, le lieu où il se doibt tenir, et ce quil en doibt faire.

Après ce que les dames seront montées en leur chauffault, le chevalier (ou escuier) d'honneur doibt venir sur les reings avecques les juges, au jour du Tournoy, armé de toutes pièces, le heaulme tymbré en la teste, et son cheval en couverte de ses armes, prest pour tournoyer, la masse ou l'espée pendu à la selle, portant la lance où est atachié ledit couvre-chief, et en tel estat viendra le premier entre le Roy d'armes et les juges, ou entre les deux premiers juges, lesquels doivent venir une demye heure premièrement que les tournoyeurs, en l'estat, forme et manière qu'ils ont fait leur entrée en la ville, avec trompettes sonnans et doyevent entrer dedans les lices, et tournoyer ung tour ou deux, pour veoir se les cordes sont bien et pour odonner ceulx qui les couperont ; et alors laisseront entre les deux cordes le chevalier (ou escuier) d'honneur, accompagné de quatre ou six varletz à cheval, et autant à pied, ou ainsi qu'il vouldra et lui doyevent lesdits quatre juges discurs de leurs propres mains lever le heaulme hors de la teste, et le bailler au Roy d'armes qui le portera devant eulx jusques au chauffault des dames, et illec les juges discurs le bailleront aux dames ; puis sera dit par le Roy d'armes :

"Mes très redoubtées et honorées dames et damoiselles, véez la vostre humble serviteur et chevalier (ou escuier) d'honneur qui s'est rendu sur les reings prest pour faire ce que lui avez commandé, duquel véez cy le tymbre que vous ferez garder dedans vostre chauffault, s'il vous plaist."

Lors ung gentil homme ou honneste varlet ad ce deputé, ou dit chauffault des dames

prendra ledit timbre et le mettra sur ung tronçon de lance de la haulteur d'ung homme, ou d'ung pou plus et le tendra en sa main entre les dames, pendant dehors, tellement que chascun le puisse veoir tant comme le Tournoy durera.

Et cela fait, les juges prandront congié et s'en iroent en leur chauffault, et ledit chevalier (ou escuier) d'onneur se tindra entre les cordes, soy pourmenant avec ses gens, jusques ad ce que les tournoyeurs viendront.

Une heure davant que le seigneur appellant doye entrer ès lices, il doit envoyer sonner ses trompettes par la ville, à cheval, pour recueillir ceulx qui ont esté partis de son cousté ausquels fera assavoir par lesdites trompettes, qu'ils se rendent en la rue davant son haberge ou autre lieu, près d'ilec, qui par ledit seigneur sera advisé; et où sera son pannon pour eulx y assembler, ad ce que tous ensemble ils puissent venir sur les reings.

Et pareillement le fera faire le seigneur deffendant davant l'eure qu'il devra venir sur les reings.

Au matin, jour dudit Tournoy, chascun desdits chevaliers et escuiers tournoyans, tant bannerez que autres, seront davant l'eure de disner ce que plus leur sera necessaire; et aussi prandront leur repos se bon leur semble; car depuis que dix heures seront passées, ils n'auront loisir ne temps de rien faire, fors seulement d'eulx armer et mettre en point pour tournoyer, et par façon que au plus tard à heure de unze heures ils se puissent trouver tous prestz et en armes sur les destriers, partans hors de leurs logies, pour eulx rendre davant la haberge de leur chief, et avec lequel il devront pour ce jour là tournoyer, à l'eure que les héraulx et poursuiuens crieront. Car ausdites unze heures, iceulx héraulx et poursuiuens seront tenus d'aler crier par davant les haberges des tournoyeurs, à haulte voix: "Lassez, laissez heaulmes, laissez heaulmes, seigneurs chevaliers et escuiers, laissez, laissez, laissez, heaulmes et yssiez hors bannières pour convoyer la bannière du chief." Lors chascun des tournoyeurs sauldra en la rue tout prest, et ira à cheval davant le haberge du chief, ou ailleurs en quelque place de la rue plus large, qui aura esté advisée, comme dit est, par le chief, pour convoyer sa bannière, et faire assembler ses tournoyeurs.

Nota que on Flandres, Brabant et les autres basses marches, où ils sont vouldentiers Tournoy, ils ont de coustume que les Roys d'armes, héraulx et poursuiuens portent les bannières; et sont tenus les tournoyeurs dont les héraulx et poursuiuens ont les bannières, leur bailler une cotte de leurs armes avec ung cheval grant et fort en couverte, pour porter la bannière, et pour le corps desdits hérault ou poursuiuant, baillent ung haubergon à qui le veult, avec sallade, garde-bras, avant-bras, gantelez et harnois de jambes. Mais ès haultes Almaynes et sur le Rin, ne le font en ceste façon; car les bannières des tournoyeurs sont portées par beaulx compaignons, jeunes, habillés à la guerre, et de plus à cheval; lesquels sont communément armez d'escrevisses ou de harnois blancs, de sallades ou chappeaulx de fer bien emplumés, et de harnois de jambes; et ont dessus leurs habillemens belles hucques d'orfaverie, ou de la divise de leur maistre. Et sont montez sur chevaux presque aussi puissans comme les tournoyeurs; lesdits chevaux couvers bien richement ou gentement. Et tousjours sont lesdits compaignons à la queue des destriers de leurs maistres, et jamais ne laissent encliner leurs bannières, ne aussi ne perdent leursdits maistres en la presse. Laquelle façon je priseroys trop mieulx que celle de Flandres, ou de Brabant, car maintenant en France a tant de héraulx et de poursuiuens mal habilleez, que quant ils se trouveroient armez et les bannières en la main, ils seroient si empeschez, qu'ils laisseroient cheoir leurs bannières, ou ne saroient poursuivre leur maistre: laquelle chose pourroit tourner à grant inconvenient ou deshonneur à leurs maistres.

Item, et alors que lesdits tournoyeurs seront tous arrivez et assemblez ensemble,

viendra le seigneur appellant ou lieu où ils seront, avec lequel ils chevaucheront tous ensemble jusques davant les lices, en l'ordre et par la forme et manière que cy après s'ensuit.

C'est assavoir, que avec eulx auront Roys d'armes, héraulx ou poursuivans, grand nombre de trompettes et menestrelz sonans ; et sera le pannon du seigneur appellant porté le premier devant lui par quelcun, comme dessus est dit. Après ledit pannon, ira le chief appellant, et à la queue de son destrier sera celui qui portera sa bannière. Et après lui deux bannerez de front avec deux bannières, et vingt tournoyeurs, et conséquament de bannières en bannières, et de tournoyeurs en tournoyeurs, et en pareil ordre s'en iront jusques sur les reings. Et lors qu'ils seront davant les reings, leurs serviteurs getteront ung grant hu ; et après ce, tous lesdits chevaliers et escuiers tournoyeurs léveront jusques sur leurs testes les bras dextres, dont ils tiennent leurs espées et masses, par façon de menaces de frapper ; puis cela fait, s'en iront en l'ordonnance dessus dite, le petit pas, jusques davant la porte par laquelle ils devront entrer ès lices ; et là se tiendront coiz. Et après ce, le hérault du seigneur chief appellant, dira aux juges les parolles qui s'ensuivent :

“ Mes honnorez et doubtez seigneurs, très hault et très puissant prince et mon très redoubté seigneur le Duc de Bretagne mon maistre, qui cy est présentement comme appellant, se vient présenter davant vous avecques tout le noble baronage que cy voyez, lequel avez parti soubz sa bannière, très desirant et prest de frapper le Tournoy par vous aujourduy à lui assigné alencontre de mon très redoubté seigneur le Duc de Bourbon et le noble barnage que soubz lui avez pareillement paré ; vous requérant que vostre plaisir soit lui délivrer place proper ad ce faire, ad ce que les dames qui cy sont présentement en puissent tantost veoir l'esbatement.”

Cela fait, le hérault qui est ou chaulfault des juges, en respondant de par lesdits juges, dira les parolles qui cy après s'ensuivent :

“ Très hault et très puissant prince et mon très redoubté seigneur messeigneurs les juges ycy présents ont bien oy et entendu ce que vostre hérault leur a dit de par vous ; sur quoy font response qu'ils ont vostre présentation très agréable, et aperçoivent bien le grant et hault vouloir d'onneur et desir de valoir qui est en vous et en la baronnie soubz vous ycy présente, pour laquelle cause et ad ce que le Tournoy ja pour plusieurs jours cy davant proclamé, puisse en bonne heure estre joyeusement acomply, ils vous assignent place là dedens cestes lices vers la partie droicte pour ce que vous y povez entrer de par Dieu, quant bon vous semblera.”

Cela dit, celui qui porte le pannon du seigneur appellant, entrera le premier, et après lui le seigneur appellant ; puis après entrera incontinent celui qui portera sa bannière, et après lui les bannerets avec toutes leurs bannières, et les tournoyeurs tout en l'ordre qu'ils seront là venus, et s'en yront leur petit pas à force de trompettes et menestrels sonnans, entendisque on mettra à ouvrir le passage des lices, par lequel ils doyevent entrer : lequel ouvert, ils entreront dedans, puis léveront leurs serviteurs un grand hu, et les tournoyeurs gecteront les bras haults sur les testes, faisans signes de menaces de leurs espées ou masses, ainsi que davant est dit. Et alors qu'ils seront dedans les lices, ils prandront la place en leur quartier, et là se mettront en bataille, ou plus bel arroy et ou meilleur ordre qu'ils pourront faire jusques encontre la corde qui sera tendue de leur cousté, sans yssir de leur quartier, ad ce que plus avant ils ne se puissent avancer. Et ceulx qui tiendront leurs bannières, se mettront à la queue des destriers de leurs maistres, et les autres à cheval qui les serviront, seront au tour d'eulx, et ceux à pied seront où ils

pourront mieulx, mais non pas au premier front où seront leurs maistres et en cest estat demoureront jusques ad ce que le deffendant et sa baronnie seront venus sur les rengs en l'ordre qui cy après s'ensuit.

En la forme et manière que aura fait le seigneur chief appellant le seigneur deffendant fera congreger les siens devant son haberge ou ailleurs où il ordonnera après les cris des héraulz et poursuivans, faits comme davant, puis viendra sur les rengs avec ses barons et autres tournoyans, soy présentant aux juges ; et de là entrera ès lices, et fera dire les parolles et autres propres faits et actes, sans muer ne changer, comme aura fait le seigneur appellant ; réservé toutteffois que ès parolles qu'il fera proférer aux juges, ainsi que l'autre s'est nommé appellant, il se fera dire deffendant. Et pour abrégier, quant il sera dedans les lices, il se mettra en bataille, et fera mettre ses bannières semblablement comme a fait le seigneur appellant, et les tournoyeurs soubz lui jusques encontre la corde prochaine d'eulx. Entre lesquelles deux cordes y aura de distance de place tant comme il plaira aux juges, ou ainsi que ja paravant a esté déclaré. Et sur les quatre bouts des dites cordes tendues, y aura quatre hommes en pourpains, grans et fors, qui tiendront chacun un grant hache de charpentier ou dolouère pour couper lesdites courdes. Mais ainçois que les couper, le Roy d'armes fera faire une sonnade aux trompettes, laquelle faite il criera à haulte voix pour troys fois, "Soiez prests pour cordes couper, soiez prests pour cordes couper, soiez prests pour cordes couper, vous qui estes ad ce commis ; si hurteront batailles pour faire leurs devoirs." Puis se fera ung autre cry par le dit Roy d'armes, après ce que les deux parties seront bien arrangées en batailles, et prests pour tournoyer :

"OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ, OR OUEZ.

"Messeigneurs les juges prient et requièrent entre vous messeigneurs les tournoyeurs, que nul ne frappe autre d'estoc ne de revers, ne depuis la sainture en bas, comme promis l'avez, ne ne boute ne tire, s'il n'est recommandé : et aussi que se d'aventure le heaulme cheoit à aucun de la teste qu'on ne lui touche jusques ad ce qu'on le lui ait remis, et que nul d'entre vous aussi ne vueille frapper par attaine sur l'ung plus que sur l'autre, se ce n'estoit sur aucun qui, pour ses démerites, fust recommandé.

"Oultre plus, je vous advise que depuis que les trompettes auront sonné retraite, et que les barrières seront ouvertes, ja pour plus longuement demourer sur les rengz, ne gaignera nul l'emprise."

Après la dite sonnade, et cry ainsi faiz, donneront lesdits juges ausdits tournoyeurs ung pou d'espace, comme du long d'ung sept psaulmes, ou environ pour eulx mettre en ordre. Et cela fait, criera ledit Roy d'armes par le commandement des juges, par troys grandes allénées et troys grandes reposées "Coupez cordes, et hurtez batailles quant vous voudrez." Et lors que le troysiesme cry sera fait, ceulx qui seront ordonnez à cordes couper, les couperont. Et adonc crieront ceulx qui porteront les bannières, avec les serviteurs à pied et à cheval, les cris chascun de leurs maistres tournoyans. Puis les deux batailles se assembleront et se combattront tant, si longuement et jusques ad ce que les trompettes soneront retraite par le commandement des juges.

Item, et est assavoir que, pendant que lesdis tournoyeurs se combattront, que les héraulx poursuivans seront entre les deux lices, et les trompettes aussi, qui ne sonneront point, mais crieront les cris des tournoyeurs de ceulx qui voudront.

Item, les deux pannons des deux chiefs, c'est assavoir, de l'appellant et du deffendant, ne se partiront de deux bouts des lices, chascun de son costé par où ils seront entrez durant le Tournoy.

En cest endroit est à noter que lesdits tournoyeurs peuvent mettre dedans les lices avecques eulx, leurs valez à cheval et à pied jusques au nombre devant declairé, chacun selon son estat ; lesquels valez à cheval doivent estre armez de lazerans ou brigandines, de salades, gantelez et harnoys de jambes, et doivent avoir ung tronson de lance de deux piez et demy, ou de troy, ou poing, pour destourner les coups qui sur eulx pourroient cheoir en la presse. Et est leur office de mettre leur maistre hors d'icelle quant il le requiert et ils le peuvent faire, crians tousiours le cry de leur dit maistre.

Et les valez à pied doivent estre en pourpoint ou jaquette courte, une sallade sur la teste et les gantelez es mains, et en la main dextre ung tronson de lance de deux braces de long. Et est leur office de relever homme et cheval avecques lesdiz tronsons quant ils les voient cheoir à terre se faire le peuvent, et se ils ne le peuvent relever, ils se doivent tenir autour de lui et le garder et deffendre avec leurs dits tronsons de lances dont ils font lices et barrières jusques à la fin du Tournoy, ad ce que les autres tournoyeurs ne puissent passer pardessus. Et ce fait, et lui ainsi par eulx préservé, est tenu de leur donner le vin au dit des juges.

HISTOIRE COMMANT LE SEIGNEUR APPELLANT ET LE SEIGNEUR DEFFENDANT ASSEMBLENT AU TOURNOY.

Quant il semblera bon aux juges que le Tournoy aura assez duré, ils feront faire à leurs clairs et trompettes une sonnade pour faire cesser les tournoyeurs, laquelle faicte, feront dire par leur hérault ou poursuivant les parolles que cy après s'ensuivent :

“Chevauchez bannières, despartez vous des rengs, et tournez aux haberges ; et vous seigneurs, princes, barons, chevaliers et escuiers qui cy endroit estes tournoyans devant les dames, avez tellement fait vos devoirs que désormais vous en pouez en la bonne heure aler et despartir des rengs : car desia est le prix assigné, le quel sera ce seoir par les dames baillé à qui l'a desservy.”

Ledit cry ainsi fait et acmply, les trompettes de chascune parties sonneront retraite ; et lors les compaignons qui auront coupé les cordes, les gardes des lices et varlez à pied ouvriront lesdites lices tant d'ung cousté que d'autre. Et ceulx qui porteront les pannons et bannières desdits deux chiefs, s'en ystront hors, leur beau petit pas, sans attendre leurs maistres, se ils ne veulent venir. Et les autres bannières ensuivant l'une après l'autre, tant de la part du seigneur appellant, que de la part du seigneur deffendant, s'en ystront par le pas où elles seront entrées, le plus bellement quelles pourront en sourattendant tousiours leurs gens ; et s'en retourneront à leurs haberges, come dessus est dit. Et touteffois, lesdites trompettes ne cesseront point de sonner retraite tant et si longuement qu'il n'y aura plus nulz tournoyeurs dedans les rengs. Et s'en peuvent aler par tropeaulx eulx entrebatant jusques à leurs haberges, ou sans eulx batre, ainsi qu'ils voudront ; et en cest estat finist et depart le Tournoy.

HISTOIRE COMMANT LES TOURNOYEURS SE VONT BATANT PAR TROPPEAULX.

Et ledit chevalier d'onneur se partira les rengz avecques les bannières et marchera le premier, et les pannons et bannières après. Et quant il sera à l'endroit du chaufault des dames, celui qui tiendra son heaulme et timbre oudit chaufault, descendra au bas et montera à cheval, et devant ledit chevalier d'onneur portera ledit heaulme jusques aux haberges en la forme et manière comme il est entré.

Le soir après soupper se assembleront toutes les dames et damoiselles et tous les tournoyans en la sale où se feront les dances comme le soir précédent. Et illec viendra le

chevalier d'honneur qui fera porter le couvre-chief de plaisance devant lui au bout de la lance, et en la compagnie des juges ira devers les dames, les remerciant de l'honneur qu'elles lui ont fait, en leur suppliant qu'elles lui vueillent des deffaulx pardonner et excuser sa simplesse.

Cela dit, on otera le couvrechief de la lance, et sera baillé audit chevalier d'honneur qui le rendra aux dames et les baisera, et puis s'en retournera avec lesdits juges, tenans ceulx qui seront chevaliers à dextre et les autres, escuiers, à senestre.

Lorsqu'il sera temps de donner le prix lesdits juges et le chevalier d'honneur accompagnés du Roy d'armes, héraulx et poursuivans, iront choisir une des dames et deux damoiselles en sa compagnie, et les meneront hors de la sale en quelque autre lieu, avec foison de torches, et puis retourneront en ladite sale avec le prix en l'ordre et forme qui s'ensuit.

Premièrement, iront les trompettes des juges devant en sonnans, puis tous héraulx et poursuivans après en flotte; et après eulx le Roy d'armes seul, après lequel ira le chevalier d'honneur tenant ung tronçon de lance en sa main, de long de cinq piedz ou environ. Après le chevalier d'honneur, viendra ladite dame qui tendra ledit pris couvert du couvrechief de plaisance que aura porté ledit chevalier d'honneur, et à dextre et à senestre iront lesdits chevaliers et escuiers juges diseurs, lesquels la tendront par dessous le bras; et à dextre et à senestre desdits deux chevaliers seront lesdites deux damoiselles tenues par dessous les bras par les deux escuiers juges. Lesquelles deux damoiselles s'ostendront les deux bouts dudit couvrechief; et en ce point seront troys tours à l'environ de la sale, puis se arressteront davant cellui auquel ils voudront donner le pris.

HISTOIRE COMMENT LA DAME AVEC LE CHEVALIER OU ESCUIER D'HONNEUR ET LES JUGES DONNENT LE PRIS.

Lors ledit Roy d'armes dira au chevalier à qui sera donné le pris, les parolles qui s'ensuivent, et s'il est prince, seigneur, baron, chevalier, ou escuier, il lui portera l'honneur qui à son estat appartient, disant :

“Véez cy ceste noble dame, ma dame de tel lieu N. accompagnée du chevalier, ou escuier, d'honneur et de messeigneurs les juges, qui vous vient bailler le pris du Tournoy, lequel vous est adjugé comme au chevalier, ou escuier, mieulx frappant d'espée et plus serchant les rengz, qui ait aujourd'hui esté en la meslée du Tournoy, vous priant ma dame que le vueillez prendre en gré.”

Lors la dame descouvre le pris, et le lui baille; puis il le prent et la baise, et semblablement les deux damoiselles se s'est son plaisir. Et lors le Roy d'armes, héraulx et poursuivans crieront son cry tout aval la salle.

Et cela fait, il prendra ladite dame et la mènera à la dance, et les juges, le chevalier d'honneur, Roy d'armes et poursuivans ramèneront les deux damoiselles à leurs lieux sans plus sonner trompettes.

Ladite dance faicte, ledit Roy d'armes, ou ung hérault, criera les joustes pour le lendemain, à tous ceulx qui voudront joster sans ce qu'il y ait ne dedens ne dehors, esquelles joustes y aura trois pris donnez.

Le premier pris sera une verge d'or à celluy qui fera le plus bel coup de lance de tout ce jour là.

Le second sera ung ruby du pris de mil escus ou au dessous, à celluy qui rompra plus de lances.

Et se iij^e sera ung dyamant du pris de mil escus ou au dessoubz à celluy qui durera plus longuement sur les rengz sans desheaulmer.

Item, après s'ensuit par articles la charge de ce que les juges auront affaire depuis qu'ils auront accepté l'office des juges diseurs dudit Tournoy :

Après aussi ce que aura à faire le Roy d'armes ;

Item pareillement ce que devront faire les héraulx et poursuivans ;

Item après, les charges que auront à faire les seigneurs appellant et deffendant, chascun de sa part, tant frais, cousts et despens, que sérémonies.

Et semblablement les autres seigneurs et bannerez chascun en droit soy, et les varlez à cheval aussi.

Et premièrement, les juges diseurs doivent assigner le jour et le lieu en quelque bonne ville, la plus en marche commune qu'ils pourront, ad ce que tous chevaliers et escuiers y puissent venir de toutes parts.

Et doit estre le lieu assigné par lesdits juges, le plus agréable que faire se pourra aux deux parties : c'est assavoir, à l'appellant et au deffendant, et par leur sceu et volenté plus que par nulz aultres ; pour ce que lesdits appellans et deffendans sont tenuz de faire les mises et despenses de la feste dudit Tournoy par egale porcion.

Item, sont tenus lesdits juges d'aler en ladite ville où ils assigneront ledit Tournoy, pour veoir qu'il y ait place convenable à le faire.

Item, doivent ordonner de faire les lices, ainsi qu'ils le deviseront.

Item, voir en ladite ville où il y ait une grant salle pour assembler les dames et aussi les damoiselles pour dancier, avec une chambre de parement, garnye de retrait, en laquelle elles se puissent aler refréchrir et reposer ou changer habillemens quant il leur plaira.

Item, dedans ladite salle doivent faire dresser tables et treteaulx, bancs, selles, sca-beaulx, dessouers, chandelliers de bois pendans, que on appelle croisées, garnis d'escuelles de bois pour tenir les tortis qui allument en la salle ; les chauffaulx sur lesquels corneront les menestrels et où se feront les cris en ladite salle, et tapicerie pour la parer, linges et aussi vesselles d'estaing et d'argent pour garnir le hault buffet.

Item, faire donner haberges aux tournoyeurs dedans ladite ville.

Item, faire faire les chauffaulx près des lices, pour les dames et pour eulx.

Item, avoir en leurs escripz, les criz et cerimonies qu se doivent faire, ainsi que davant sont plus a plain déclairez.

Item, faire les provisions pour le soupper, la vigille du Tournoy, et pour le disner et soupper du jour d'icellui, pour les dames en ladite salle ;

Et pour le vin et espices des autres jours, et les torches et luminaire en ladite salle et ailleurs.

Doivent aussi congnoistre de toutes questions et débats qui pourroient survenir à cause dudit Tournoy.

Et doivent par semblable défrayer tous héraulx et poursuivans, allans chiez eulz, de leur despense, et espécialement doivent tousiours avoir avec eulx le Roy d'armes qui criera la feste, et les quatre poursuivans avec les quatre trompettes, et semblablement les deffraier durant toute la feste ; car desdits poursuivans se pourront servir en maintes manières durant ladite feste.

Les deux seigneurs chiefs doivent entièrement deffraier lesdits juges, et généralement faire toutes les despenses, frais et mises dessusdites par égale porcion : et feroient iceulx seigneurs chiefs leur honneur, de donner à chascun desdits juges une robbe de drap de soye, longue jusques aux piés, et de pareille couleur, ad ce que le temps pendant deladite feste, ils fussent congneus et révérez entre les autres : c'est assavoir ausdits deux chevaliers de drap de veloux, et aux escuiers, de drap de damas.

Item, sont tenus les seigneurs appellant et deffendant envoyer devers les juges diseurs, incontinent que iceulx juges seront arrivez ou lieu du Tournoy, chascun d'eulx ung de leurs maistres d'ostel et ung homme de finance, et chascun ung mareschal de logeis, et ung forrier, c'est assavoir, les maistres d'ostel et gens de finance, pour paier et faire ordonner ce que les juges diseurs commanderont, et lès mareschaulx et fourriers pour ordonner les logeis et logier les seigneurs chevaliers, escuiers tournoyeurs, dames, damoiselles et autres qui vendront à la feste, ainsi comme davant ou chappitre de la hauberge des juges diseurs, en est plus au long touché.

Nota que le Roy d'armes doit estre ou chauffault avec lesdits juges.

Et aussi est à noter que iceulx juges ne doivent point souffrir que nul desdits tournoyeurs soit monté au Tournoy sur cheval qui soit de excessive et oultrageuse grandeur et force plus que les autres, s'il n'est prince.

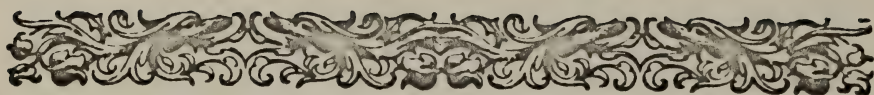
ICY APRÈS S'ENSUIT LES DROIS DES HÉRAULX, POURSUIVANS TROMPETTES ET MENESTRELS,
ET LESQUELLES APPARTIENNENT AUX HÉRAULX ET POURSUIVANS, ET LESQUELS
APPARTIENNENT AUX TROMPETTES ET MENESTRELS.

Tous les chevaliers et escuiers tournoyeurs qui jamais n'auront tournoyé que celle fois là, seront tenus de paier pour leurs heaulmes et bien venue en armes, au Roy d'armes, héraulx ou poursuivans, à leur plaisir ou ordonnance des juges : et néantmoins que autrefois ils l'aient païé à la joute se ne s'ensuit-il pas qu'ils ne doivent paier une autrefois pour l'espée ; car la lance ne peult affranchir l'espée. Mais qui auroit païé son heaulme à l'espée, c'estadire au Tournoy, il seroit affranchi de la lance, c'est assavoir de la joute.

Item, les housseures des chevaux armoyez des armes, sont de droit auxdits Roy d'armes, héraulx et poursuivans, et les bannières et timbres à l'église du cloistre ou ils auront parti lesdites bannières et timbres, ou autres églises que les juges ordonnerons.

Item, ceulx qui ont gagné le pris sont tenus de donner aucune chose aux trompettes et menestrels, et les deux princes chiefs Tournoy aussi.





Appendix IX.

Description of the armour worn by the French in 1446, as detailed in a MS., a copy of which was in the possession of René de Belleval, who printed and published it in 1866, under the title of "Du Costume militaire des Français en 1446." Another copy of the MS. is in the Bib. Nat., No. 1997.

Icy après sensuit la façon comment les gens de guerre du royaume de France, tant à pié comme à cheval, sont habillez en la manière et usance de la guerrier quilz font contre leurs ennemis.

Item, aussi la façon coment oudit royaume tant hommes que femmes se habillent en vestemens aujourd'hui ; desquelz habillemens passeray légèrement à les desclairer, pour ce que plus souvent que autres generacions rechange volentiers façon de vesture ; aussi après metray la manière de leurs dances qui aujourd'hui court oudit royaume de France, de leurs festoimens, et aussi comment et en quelz harnois ilz joustent. Et premièrement, lesdiz homes d'armes sont armez volentiers quant ilz vont en la guerre, de tout harnois blanc⁽¹⁾ ; c'est assavoir curasse close, avant-bras, grans gardebras⁽²⁾, harnois de jambes, gantelez, salade à visière et une petite bavière qui ne couvre que le menton.

Item, les aucuns portent différence en harnois de bras, de teste et de jambes ; premièrement la différence du harnois de teste, cest assavoir de biquoques et de chapeaulx de Montauban⁽³⁾. Et premièrement, les biquoques sont de façon à que sur la teste, en telle forme et manière comme anciennement les bacinez à camail souloient estre, et d'autre part vers les aureilles viennent joindre aval, en telle forme et façon comme souloient faire les berniers.

Item, et les chapeaulx de Montauban sont ronds en teste à une creste ou meilieu qui vait tout du long, de la hauteur de deux doiz, et tout autour il y a un avantail de quatre ou cinq doiz de large en forme et manière d'un chapeau.

Item, et la tierce armure et la plus commune et la meilleure à mon semblant est l'armure de teste qui se appelle sallades, car elles couvrent tout la plus part du coul

(1) The only enrichment at the period was the in-setting of precious stones.

(2) This piece is not mentioned by this name elsewhere in the MS. It was a large elbow-piece.

(3) FROISSART speaks of "chapelet de Montauban," a kind of *chapelle de fer*. He describes the costume of a page of Charles VI. as wearing "un chapelet de Montauban fin cler et net, bout d'acier."

derrière et toute la temple, loreille et la plus part de la joue, et devant couvre le fronc jusques au sourciz. En laquelle sallade y a une visière petite, laquelle visière quant elle est abessée recouvre les yeulx, le nés et la bouche ; ainsi ne reste à couvrir que le menton et la gorge, et rient batre de lames jusques quatre ou cinq doiz sur la pièce de la dicte cuirasse bien gentement et à poinct.

Item, quant à avant braz, il y en a de deux faczons come devant est dit ; cest assavoir : les uns et les plus comuns qui se fait à Milan, qui se tiennent de pièces ensemble depuis la jointure de la main jusques à quatre ou à six doiz près la jointure de l'espaulle hault. Et si vous me demandez de quantes pièces il sont faiz, je vous respons qu'il n'est ja besoing que je le déclare plus particulièrement, car tout le monde le scet, et est si en usaige que ce ne seroit à moy que perdre parolles et temps ; si non en tant que oudit avant-braz sénestre y a une garde d'un pié enront, façonnée presque en la faczon dun cueur, c'est assavoir la pointe couvrant le code et faicte en arreste, et l'autre partie contraire est ployée ou meillu, laquelle ployeure couvre le plet du braz. Et quant le braz est ployé, ladicte garde couvre depuis le gantellet, ou à peu près, jusques au boit du garde-braz(1).

Item, et l'avant-braz du braz droit est pareillement fait de pièces et couvre aussi hault le braz droit, come le sénestre avant-braz fait le braz sénestre ; mais la garde en est la moitié plus petite que l'autre, ne n'est pas faitte en cette faczon du costé du coude come chacun scet, et oultre plus est depuis la ployeure du garde-braz contremont double, laquelle chose fut ordonnée pour le rencontre de la lance.

Item, l'autre faczon devant-braz sont lesquelx sont faiz de trois pièces, cest assavoir une pièce qui couvre depuis la ployeure de la main jusques à trois doiz près la ployeure du braz ; et depuis la ployeure du braz y en a une autre qui vient jusques à hault de la jointure de l'espaulle, à quatre doiz près. Pardessus lesquelles deux pièces y en a une autre qui couvre le code et la ployeure du braz et partie des autres deux pièces aussi, lesquelles trois pièces sont pareilles tant au braz droit que au sénestre ; et se atachent avecques eguillettes.

Item, quant au harneys de jambes, l'une de faczons est clox devant et derrière par le bas, ainsi que on le faict à Millan, et à grandes gardes au genouil, et ung pou de mailles sur le cou du pié ; et l'autre faczon du harneys de jambes est tout pareil à l'autre cy dessus déclaré, si non en tant que par la jambe bas s'en fault trois doiz que ne soit cloz, et ont les gardes plus petites endroit le genoil.

Item, les archiers portent harneys de jambes, sallades comme dessus est dict, gros jacques doublés de grant foyson de toylles ou brigandines, arc ou poing et la trousse au cousté : et ny use len point si communement darbalestres comme és autres lieux, excepté pour garder les places.

Item, y use len encore dune autre manière de gens armez seulement de haubergeons, sallade, gantellez et harneys de jambe ; lesquelx portent vouluntiers en leur main une faczon de dardres qui ont le fer large, que len appelle langue de bœuf(2) ; et les appelle len coustilleux.

Item, quant a faczon de dagues et d'espees, tant de hommes d'armes, de coustilleux,

(1) A good example of this left arm-piece is to be seen in the Wallace Collection. Also note larger left elbow defence upon the brass of Sir J. Peryent at Digswell, Herts., of 1450, and of a knight of the Cuttes family in Arkesden Church, Essex, of about 1440.

(2) *Guisarme*.

et d'archiers, sont ainsi que après sensuivent : premièrement, lesdiz hommes d'armes les portent courtes et pesantes, et sont d'estoc et de taille, et les dagues longues ; *item*, lesdiz coustilleux portent volontiers fueilles de Catheloigne ung pou languetes et estroites, et sont ung bien pou roides, et dagues pareilles ; *item*, les archiers les portent longues, tranchans comme rasouers, et sont à deux mains et ont dagues plus longues que les hommes d'armes ne les coustilleux, et tranchent aussi comme rasouers, et portent arcs d'if et flèches de quatre palmes ou quatre palmes et demy de long et plus, et les fers à deux tranchans en forme de barbeleure.

Item, en leur faczon de guerrier ont trois choses bien espécialles et de grant recommandacion pour toutes gens usans ou voulans user de la guerre et exercer leur corps en armes : dont la première si est que lesdiz François sont de corps prompte entrepreneurs et assaillans leurs enemis sans bargigner ne marchander ; l'autre si est que en assaulx sont apres combateurs et durs aux horions : l'autre si est qu'il n'y a nul deulx ou vroiement la plus part qui naye bien couraige de valoir à combatre corps à corps aultruy de quelque naccion qu'il soit, et sont volentiers gentement armez et plus apparament et netement que autres nacions que soit. Mais plust à Dieu quilz fussent aussi obeissans à leurs chiefz et capitaines comme de leurs corps sont vaillans et habandonniez au péril de la fortune ; car, plus souvent leur prouesse sortiroit à fruit de victoire par la règle et moderacion de la raisonnable conduite, et le labour de la peine de leur corps ne seroit pas si souvent en vain perdu ; car je ose bien dire et maintenir que tenir ordre et estre obeissant à son cappitaine doit estre reputé pour plus grant vaillance que monstrer la prouesse de son corps désordonnément outre tout le comandement et ordonnance. Et à ce propos, trouverez en Titus Livius que les Romains faisoient plus aspre justice des transgresseurs leurs comandemens et ordonances par ardeur et vaillance de leurs corps, que des laches récréans et couers, et l'exécution de Turcart contre son filz vaille icy pour exemple.

Item, après quant au fait des vestemens, tant des homes que des femes, pour non user de prolixité et non ennuyer de parolles, n'en déclaray autre pour le présent, sinon que en l'an Mil. III^e XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII, portoient tant gentilzhomes que gentilzfemes, en teste et sur le corps, la propre forme et faczon en telle manière come cy davant est paint. Si me en tays atant, car par la peinture le pourrez aussi bien comprendre, comme fit je le bailloie par escript.

Mais quant à la faczon de leur harnois de joute, suis content de le vous déclarer plus largement, affin que pour lavenir ceulx qui voudront jouter y preignent exemple, soit de y adjouster ou de y oster, comme mieulx verront et cognoisteront y estre nécessaire.

Et tout premièrement vueil commancer au harnois de teste, c'est assavoir au heaume, lequel est fait en ceste faczon, come cy après me orrez déclarer ; et premièrement lesdiz heaumes sont, sur le sommet de la teste jusques à la veue, fors et espès et ung pou sur le rondelet, par faczon que la teste ne touche point encontre, ainçois y peut avoir espace de troiz doiz entre deux.

Item, de dessobz de la veue du heaume, qui arme par davant tout le visaige depuis les deux aureilles jusques à la poitrine et endroit les yeulx qui s'appelle la veue, avance et boute avant troiz bons doiz ou plus que n'est le bort de dessus ; entre lequel bort de dessus et celui de dessobz ny a bonnement despace que ung bon doy et demy pour y pouvoir veoir, et n'est la diète veue, tant dun cousté que dautre, fendue que environ dun espan de long, mais volentiers vers le cousté sénestre est ladicte veue plus clouse et le bort plus en bouty dehors que n'est de l'autre costé droict.

Item, et ledit dessobz ladicte veue marche volontiers sur la pièce de dessus la teste

deux bons doiz, tant d'un cousté que d'autre de la veue, et cloué de fors clox qui ont les uns la teste enbotie, et les autres ont la teste du clou limée affin que le rochet ny prengne.

Item, la pièce dessus-ditte qui arme le visaige est volontiers large et destendant presque d'une venue jusques à la gorge, ou plus bas affin quelle ne soit pas si près des visaiges quant les cops de lance y prennent. Ainçois qui le veult faire à point fault quil y ait quatre doiz despace du moins entre deux. Et à ceste dicte pièce, du costé droict de la lance, endroit la joue, deux ou trois petites veues qui viennent du long depuis le hault de la joue jusques au collet du pourpoint, affin que l'en nait schault dedens le heaulme, et aussi affin que on puisse mieulx ouir ou veoir celuy qui le fert de la lance.

Item, l'autre pièce dudit heaulme arme depuis les aureilles par derrière le long du coul jusques trois doiz sur les espaulles par bas, et par hault, aussi jusques à trois doiz sur la nuque du coul. Et vient faczonnée une arreste aval qui vient en estroiiissant sur le collet du pourpoint, et se relargist sur les espaulles en deux ; laquelle pièce dessusdicte nest jamais faicte sorte ne espesse, ainçois la plus legière que on la peult est la meilleure ; et pour conclusion faire ces trois pièces dessusdictes sont le heaulme entier.

Item, les escuz à quoy on joute en France sont faiz de bois premièrement dun doy espès, et nervez tant dedans que dehors d'un doy espès ou moins ; et sur ladicte nerveure par dehors est couvert de petites pièces larges et carrées du grant dun point deschiquier de tablier, qui sont faictes dos le plus dur que len peut trouver, et le plus comunément sont faictes de cornes de serf endroit la couronne, de lendroit proprement de quoy len fait les noiz aux arbalestres.

Item, ledit escu, depuis deux doiz de dessobz la veue du cousté sénestre jusques demy pié plus bas que le code, et de largeur du moins trois espans et demy, et est fait carré par dessus, excepté que, depuis la moytié de la largeur de lescu au hault, il est volontiers eschancré de trois doiz de bas et ledit escu ront par dessobz et enfoncé ou meillieu de trois ou quatre doiz, laquelle enfonceure luy donne façon d'une petite vesture qui sert à estre plus aisé à conduire de la main le cheval.

Item, et fait len volentiers deux partuis de lescu pour atacher la tresse à quoy il est pendu au coul à ung demy pié et trois doiz depuis le plus hault dudit escu en avan, et autant pareillement du long et de la largeur vers la partie sénestre, laquelle proportion ainsi mesurée, à mon advis, quant ledit escu, na point plus de long ne de large que cy dessus est dit, est à point et bien proportionnée, sauf et reservé en tout et par tout la correction de ceulx qui y voudront dire pour le mieulx.

Item, quant à l'armeure de corps, il y en a de deux faczons ; cest assavoir : la première comme curasse à armer sauve que le voulant⁽¹⁾ est clox et arresté à la pièce, par faczon que le voulant ne peut aller ne jouer hault ne bas.

Item, lautre faczon est de brigandines ou autrement dit curassines, couvertez et clouées par pièces petites depuis la poitrine en a bas, ne ny a aultre différence de celle cy aux brigandines que on porte en la guerre, sinon que tout ce que contient la poitrine jusques aux faulx est d'une seulle pièce et se lace du costé de la main droite ou par derrière du long de leschine.

Item, larrest est espès, groz et matériel au plaisir de celui qui le fait faire.

Item, oudit harnois de corps y a principalement deux boucles doubles, ou une boucle double et ung aneau limé, ou meillieu de la poitrine, plus hault quatre doiz que le

(1) Query the placate.

faulx du corps, et l'autre du cousté sénestre longues ; de l'autre ung pou plus haulte : lesquelles deux boucles ou aneau sont pour atacher ledit heaume à la curasse ou brigandine ; c'est assavoir : la première sert pour metre une tresse ou courroye oudit heaume à une autre pareille boucle comme celle la, qui est oudit heaume clouée sur la pate dudit heaume davant le plus à l'endroit du meillieu du travers que len peult, et ont volentiers lesdictes tresses et couvertures de cueur trois doubles lun sur l'autre ; l'autre seconde boucle ou aneau à main sénestre respont pareillement à une aultre boucle ou aneau qui est oudit heaulme à la sénestre partie sur la pate dudit heaulme ; et ces deux boucles ou aneaux sénestres servent spécialement pour la buffe, cest assavoir que quand le rochet atache [a touché] sur le hault de lescuzcon ou heaume, ceste tresse ou courroye dessusdicte garde que le heaulme ne se joigne à la joe sénestre par la faczon que ledit jousteur en puisse estre depis.

Item, en ladicte brigandine ou curasse y a en la sénestre partie en la poitrine, près du bort du braz sénestre, à ung doy près endroit le tour du braz hault, trois doiz plus bas que la boucle de quoy on lasse la dicte brigandine sur lespaulle, ung crampon de fer du gros dun doy en ront, dont les deux cheffz sont rivez par dedens et ladicte pièce au mieulx quil se puet faire, et dedens dudit crampon se passe deux ou trois tours une grosse tresse bonne et forte qui depuis passe parmy la poire, laquelle poire est assise et cache le dit crampon ; de laquelle poire la haulteur est volentiers dun bon doy, sur laquelle lescu repose, et est ataché par lesdits pertuys dudit escu de la tresse qui est atachée audit crampon, laquelle sort par le meillieu de ladicte poire(1).

Item, en ladicte curasse y a derrière, ou meillieu du creux de lespaulle, une boucle ou aneau qui sert pour atacher une tresse ou courroie a une autre boucle du heaulme darrière, si que le heaulme ne chée davant, et affin aussi que la veue soit de la haulteur et demeure ferme que le jousteur la vieult.

Item, oultre plus en ladicte curasse y a ung petit aneau plus bas que nul des aultres, assis plus vers le saillement des coustez à la main sénestre, auquel len atache dune aultre legière tresse la main de fer, laquelle main de fer est tout dune pièce et arme la main et le braz jusques troiz ou quatre doiz oultre le code.

Item, depuis le code jusques ou hault, cache (*cachant*) tout le tour de lespaulle, y a ung petit garde braz dune pièce, et se descent jusques sur le code quatre doiz.

Item, à la main droite y a ung petit gantellet lequel se appelle gaignepain : et depuis le gantellet jusques oultre le code, en lieu de avant braz, y a une armeure qui se appelle espaulle de mouton, laquelle est faczonée large endroit le code, et se espanouist aval, et endroit la ploieure du braz se revient ploier par faczon que, quant len a mis la lance en larrest, la ditte ploieure de laditte espaulle de mouton couvre depuis la ploieure du braz ung bon doy en hault.

Item, pour armeure de lespaulle droite y a ung petit garde braz fait à lames, sur lequel y a une rondelle joignant une place, laquelle rondelle se haulte et se besse quant on vieult metre la lance en l'arrest, et se revient recheoir sur la lance quant elle est oudit arrest, par telle faczon quelle couvre ce que est desarmé en hault dentre la lance et ledit garde braz.

Item, aussi oudit royaume de France se arment de harnoyz de jambes quant ilz joustent.

(1) Note the shield was rivetted to the breastplate, a finger's breadth below level of the armpit ; the shield rested on a "poire" on the breastplate.

Item, quant à la faczon des estacheures dudit harnoyz par bas, si que il ne sourmonte point encontrement par force des copz, je men passe à la déclarer pour le présent car il y en a plusieurs faczons. Ne aussi daultre part ne me semble pas si quil se doye divulguer si publiquement.

Item, quant est des lances, les plus convenables raisons de longueur entre grappe et rochet, et aussi celles de quoy on use plus communement est de treze piez ou de treze piez et demy de long.

Item, et lesdiz rochez sont vouluntiers de ouverture entre chascune des trois pointes de deux doiz et demy ou trois au plus.

Item, lesdictes grappes sont voulentiers plaines de petittes pointes agues (aiguës) comme petiz dyamens, de grosseur comme petittes nouzilles, lesquelles pointes se viennent arrester dedens le creux de larrest, lequel creux de larrest plain de bois ou de plomb affin que lesdittes pointes ne puissent fouir, par quoy vient ladiëte lance à tenir le cop : en faczon quil fault que elle se rompe en pièces, que len assigne bien ou que le jousteur ploye leschine si fort que bien le sente.

Item, les rondes dessusdictes lances ne couvrent tout autour au plus aller que ung demy pié, et sont vouluntiers de trois doiz despès de bourre feutrée entre deux cuirs, du cousté devers la main par dedens.

En oultre plus pour faire fin à la manière que len se arme en fait de jouxtes ou pais et contrée que jay cy desous déclaré, ne diray oultre chose pour le présent, sinon que un bon serviteur dun jousteur doit regarder principalement trois choses sur son maister avant quil luy donne sa lance ; cest assavoir que ledit jousteur ne soit désarmé de nulles de ses armeures par le cop précédent ; laultre si est que ledit jousteur ne soit point estourdy ou méchaigné pareillement par ledit cops précédent quil aura eu ; le tiers si est que ledit serviteur doit bien regarder sil y a autre prest sur les rengs qui est sa lance sur faulte, et prest pour jouter contre sondit maistre, affin que sondit maistre ne tienne trop longuement sans faire course la lance en larrest, ou quil ne face sa course en vain et sans que autre vienne à lencontre du luy.

The editor also prints "L'ordonnance et manière des Chevaliers errants, comme je, Merlin de Cordebeuf, me suis pensé estre chose de grand bruit et grand plaisance pour esbattre les seigneurs, princes, chevaliers, et escuiers de ce royaulme." This MS. is interesting, as it appears to be of the same date, and the armour of the Chevalier errant is to be in imitation of the antique ! to present if possible the old appearance of the knight errant of the romances.





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(1) The titles "starred" denote that the compiler has not been able to examine the book. He has inserted the title, so that anyone interested in the subject may know of the probable existence of the work. The compiler has had especially in view the German literature on the subject. This Bibliography is only intended as an attempt to gather a preliminary list. The compiler has not had the time to make it full or accurate owing to the early closing of the British Museum during the war.

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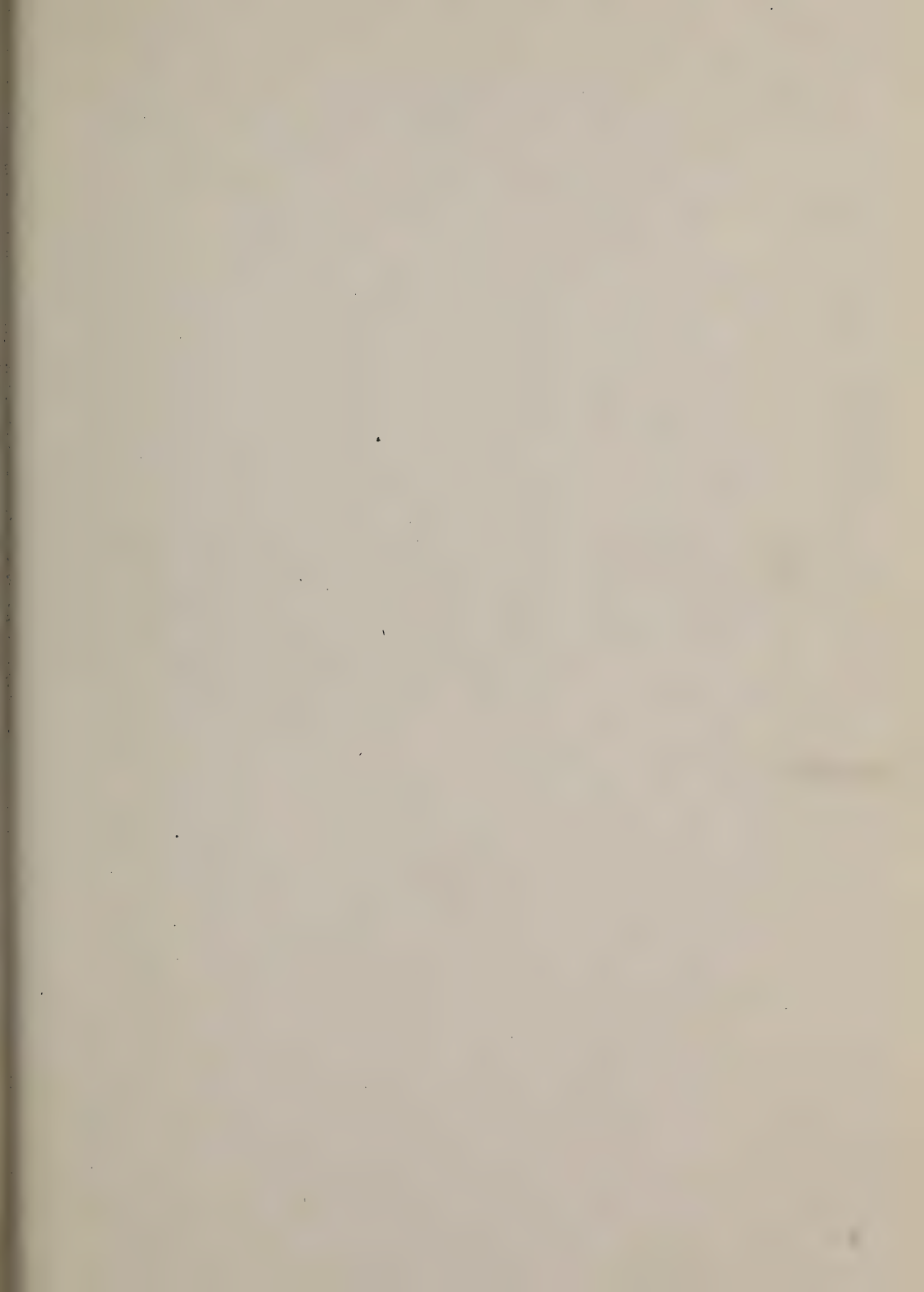
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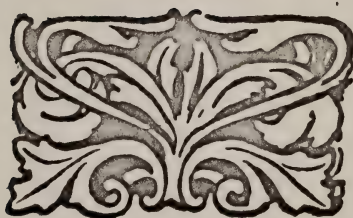
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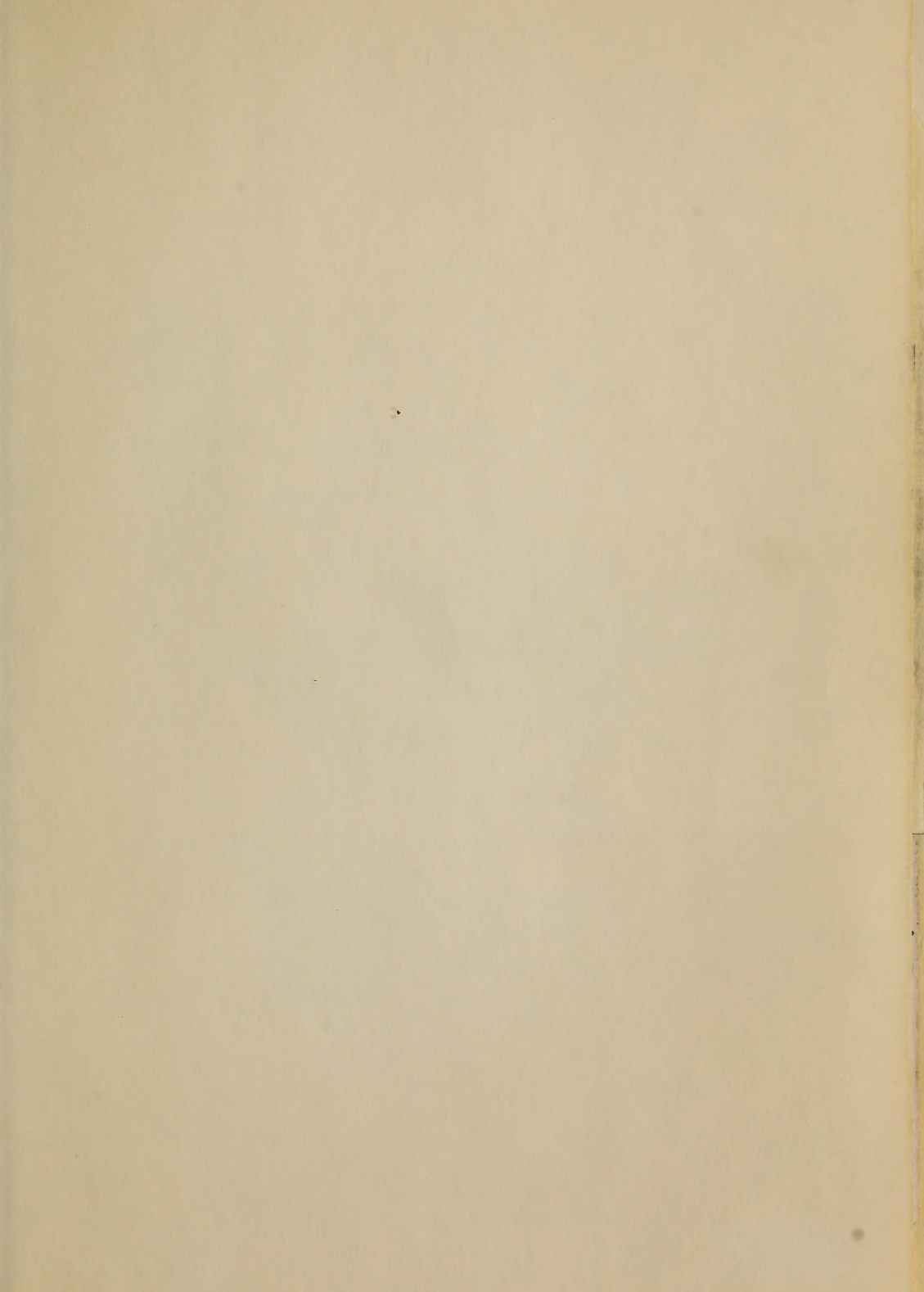
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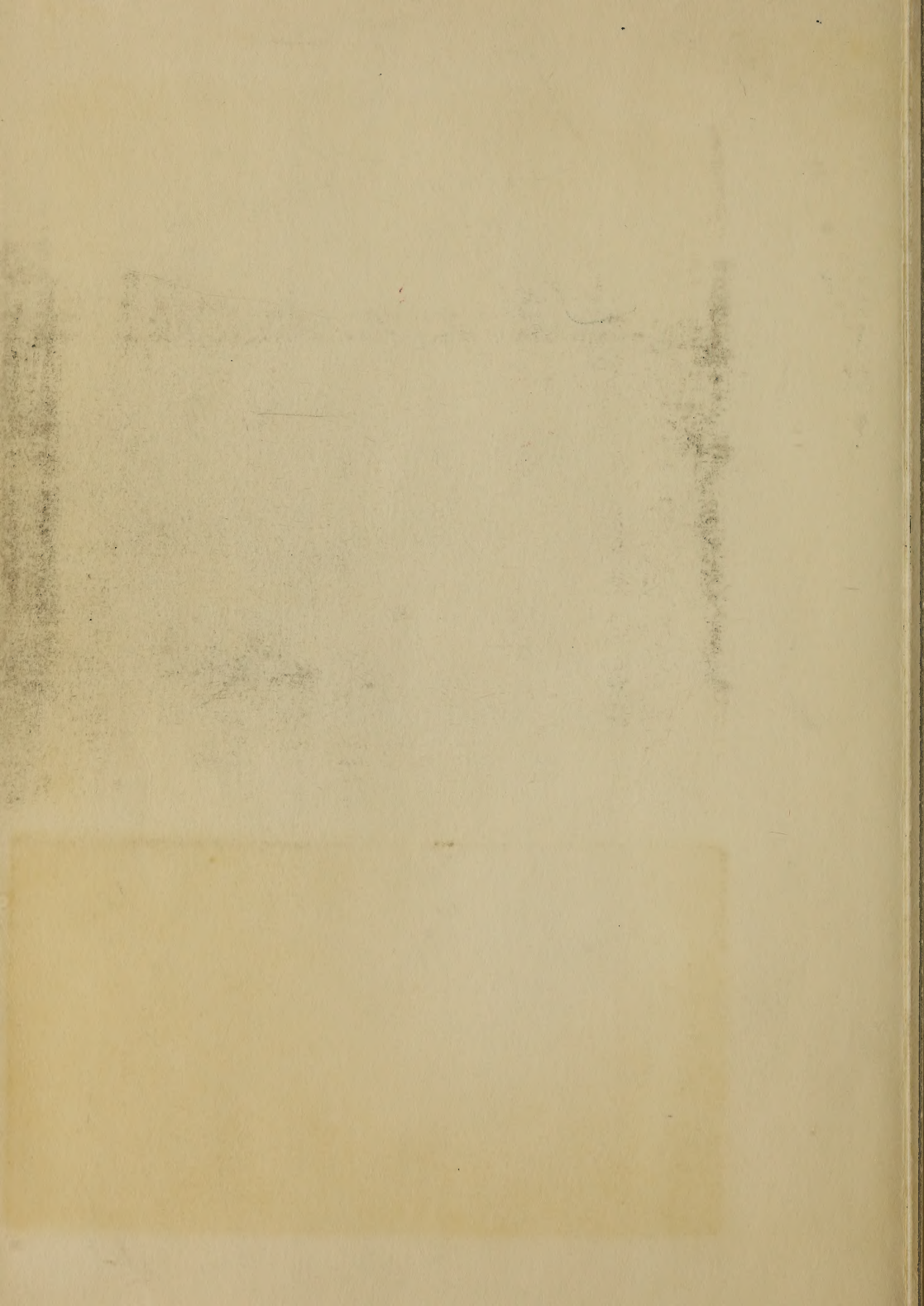
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